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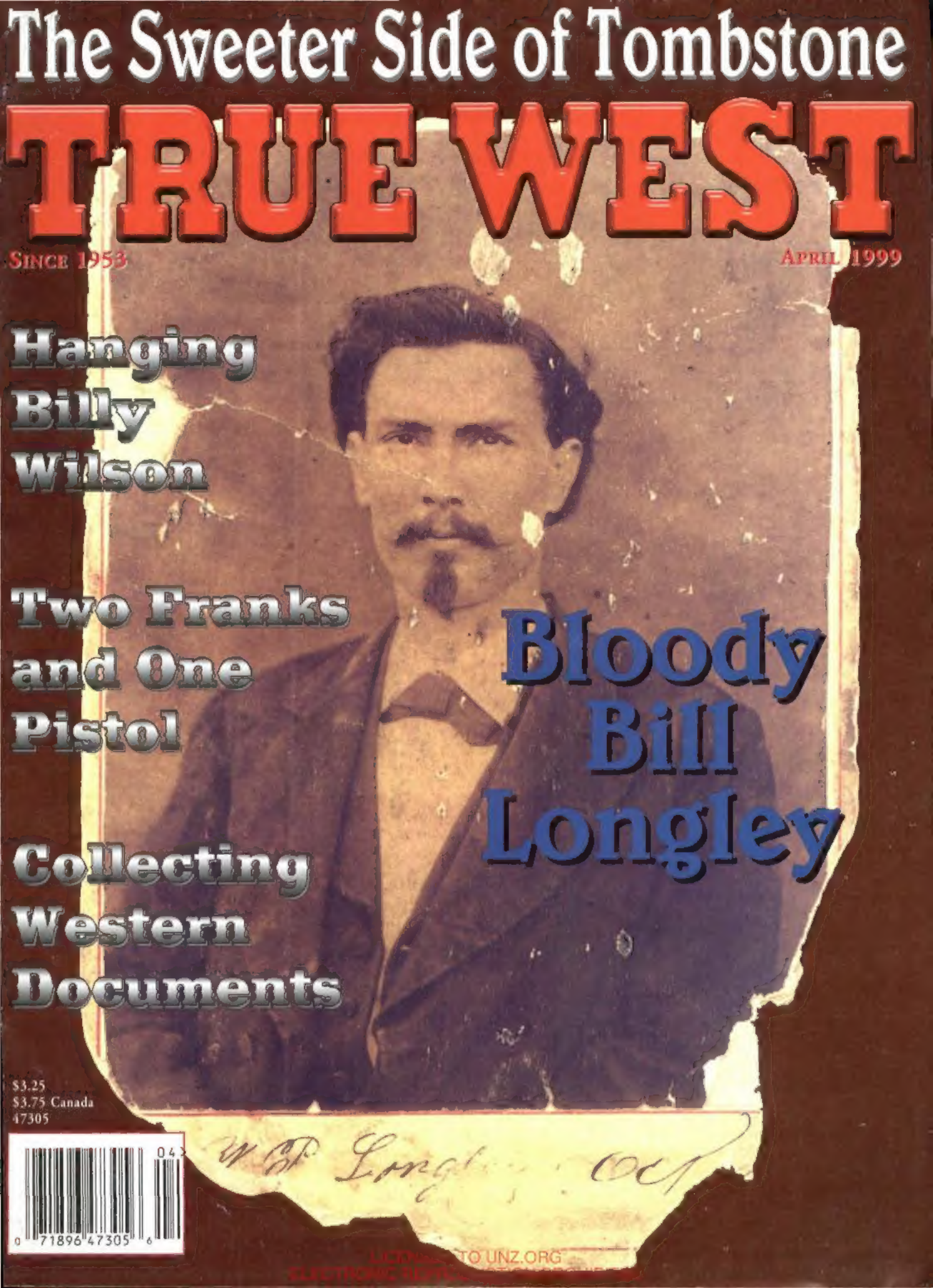

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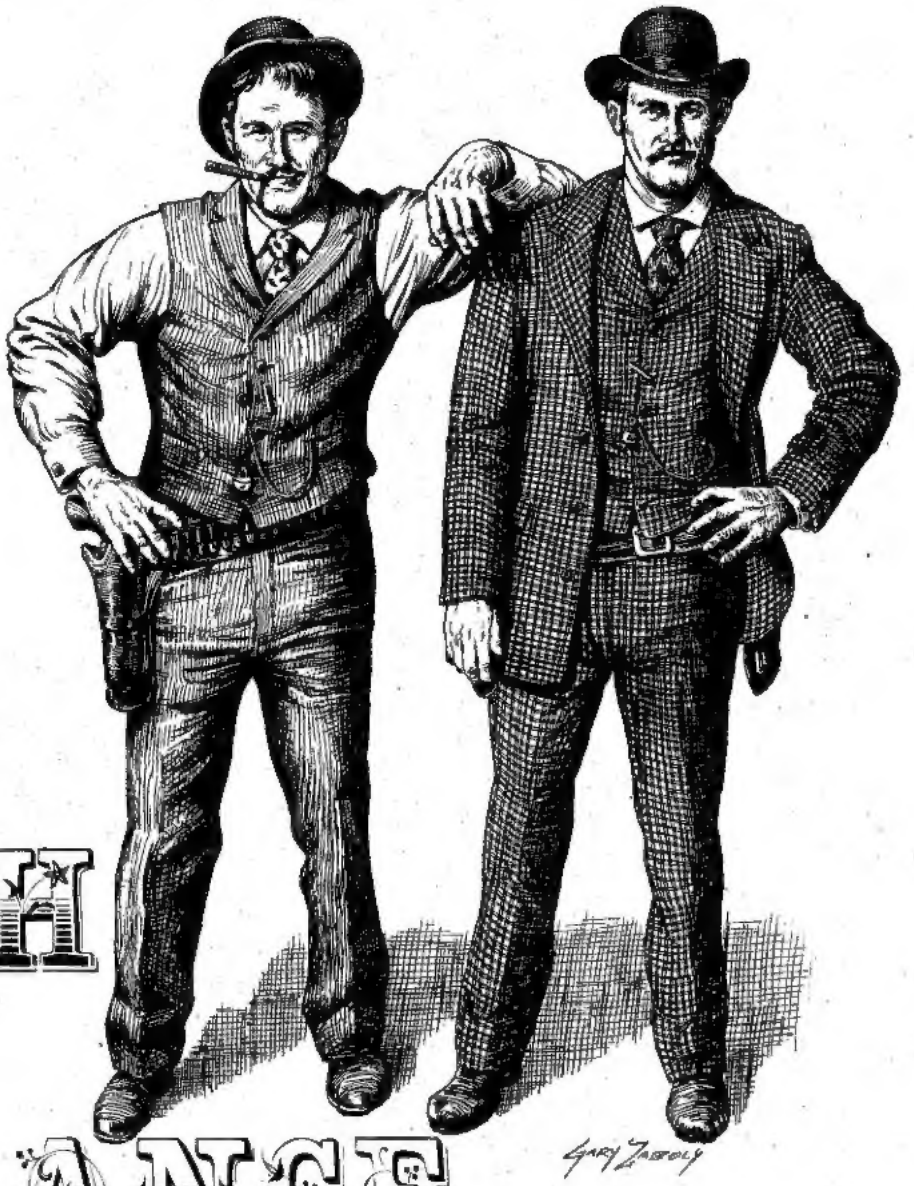

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Our Cover

William P. Longley
Courtesy Robert McCubbin
See related story, page 31.

April 1999
Vol. 46, No. 4
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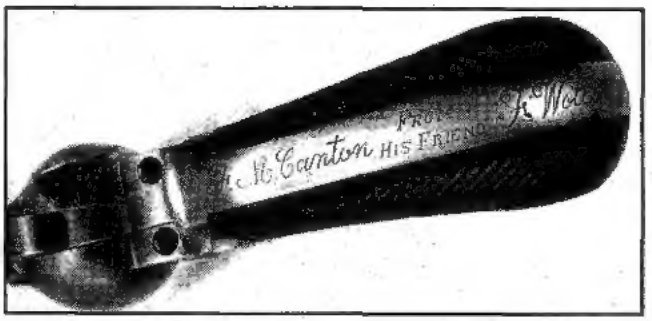

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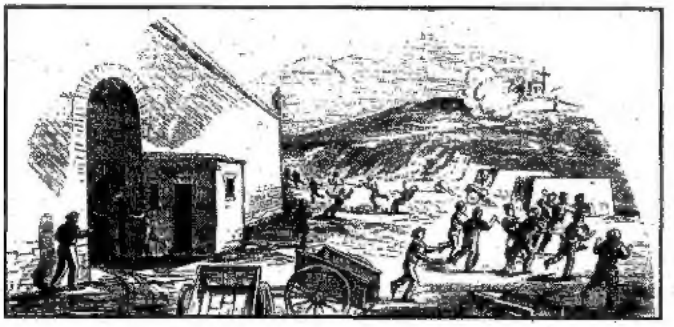

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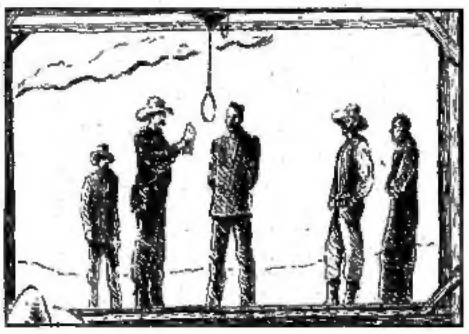

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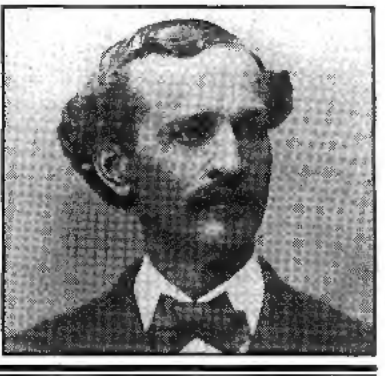

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FROM THE EDITOR

Howdy, ya'll!

It always makes me feel good to see "progress" take a back seat to history. Or, at least, slowing down long enough to weigh the value of something old; even if that something is a crumbling, dirty glimpse of a life long past.

In this issue, we report the final status of the historic train depot in Willcox, Arizona. While Willcox's depot is enjoying a new life, a similar train station is just getting its first, surviving breath, right here in Oklahoma.

The historic significance of Guthrie, Oklahoma, is evident, as the town played a major role in Western History as a whole. Western legends, including Jim Masterson, Heck Thomas, Bud Ledbetter, Chris Madsen, Frank Canton, Bill Tilghman, and a long list of others walked the streets daily. Bill Doolin was a short-time guest of the jail, and Tom Mix worked behind the bar in a local saloon. But one player in Guthrie's dramatic story was recently doomed to destruction.

Located in the once booming, and historic Territorial Capital, the abandoned Rock Island Depot was on a short list for demolition. Built in 1903, the depot played a major part in the settlement of Guthrie, and originally acted as a stop on the Choctaw, Oklahoma & Gulf line. The station came under the Rock Island jurisdiction a few years later. The property, until recently, was scheduled to be razed to make way for a fast food restaurant. Plans were finalized, and as the end of an historic era was approaching, the seemingly unthinkable happened. The company behind the acquisition of the property, Sonic, Inc., stepped in and halted the impending destruction. Sonic, in a move that is rare in "cut and burn" corporate dealings, even offered a $75,000 grant to help Guthrie's Save Our Depot Foundation purchase and restore the station.

Now, if you have ever traveled or lived in the Southwest, Sonic restaurants are a familiar sight. The first was established right here in Stillwater, the home of *True West*. Like most things "Okie," Sonic has never been one to bend to changing times, or trends. Utilizing the drive-in method made famous in the 1950s, complete with carhops, the red-roofed denizens of fried goodies and homemade malts and ice cream shakes have remained an Oklahoma icon. I spent countless hours there as a teen, when I should have been doing homework or mowing the lawn, chowing-down on fried pickles (the local specialty) and cat-calling the carhops (who then, still worked on roller skates). Maybe Sonic's dedication to tradition had something to do with saving the Rock Island Depot. Nonetheless, one historic hand washed the other, very rare in our changing times.

In a recent article in the Oklahoma City *Oklahoma Gazette*, Sonic CEO Cliff Hudson said that saving the depot is more about being a good neighbor, than saving a historic structure. In towns like Guthrie, and countless others across the country, being a good neighbor means all the difference in the world when history is on the line.

On the down side, the depot still has a long road to travel before full restoration. The grant that Sonic bestowed upon Guthrie's Save Our Depot Foundation is limited to matching funds, and so far, the Foundation has only collected around $50,000 in pledges from concerned citizens across the state. If you are interested in the progress of the Rock Island depot, or would like to contribute to its restoration, contact Save Our Depot Foundation, PO Box 1122, Guthrie, OK 73044.

In the meantime, I'll head to Sonic for an order of fried pickles, content that it's money well spent.

Marcus Huff

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BILLY BATTLE RAGES ON

In response to the letter in the March 1999 *True West* by the authors of *The Return of the Outlaw Billy the Kid* let me set the record straight. Since Jameson and Bean seem to be unfamiliar with my past work on Billy the Kid, a brief accounting is offered. I have had a series of four articles published on The Kid, all of which provide original research from primary sources. I have examined such issues as a new date for Billy's birth, introduced persuasive evidence that he was not armed with a pistol when killed, and analyzed an early report on the cause of the Lincoln County War. My work is cited in the 1997 University of New Mexico Billy the Kid bibliography, nominated for a 1998 Spur award and will appear in the next volume on The Kid by noted historian Jon Tuska. I was asked to review the authors' book for the NOLA *Quarterly*, and I laid out the problems inherent in their work. Their rambling letter is driven by personal animosity, not the facts.

Now it is time to deal with the issue at hand, which is this: Was O.L. "Brushy Bill" Roberts and Billy the Kid one and the same? The answer is an unequivocal no. In order to illustrate this, four fundamental points are presented for those who still harbor any doubt:

1) Billy the Kid penned a number of letters to New Mexico Governor Lew Wallace that were clear and concise. Brushy Bill was illiterate, as witnessed by William Morrison, his most vocal champion. Brushy Bill's wife wrote all his correspondence.

2) Billy the Kid spoke fluent Spanish, as all who knew him verified. Brushy Bill did not speak a word of Spanish, as witnessed by his wife and others who knew him.

3) The much heralded photo-comparison study did not prove a one hundred percent match between Billy the Kid and Brushy Bill, thereby rendering it worthless and not worthy of consideration.

4) Brushy Bill's post-1881 life, as related in the book, is an endless collection of unverified statements with no documentation presented to thread the events together. The authors made no attempt to check census records to establish the movements of Roberts for the relative time periods.

The authors state that the book is the "result of forty years combined research" and if this is truly the case, it was forty years wasted because their work is sadly lacking. The authors have achieved one unintentional result from their book and that is to sound the final death knell for O.L. "Brushy Bill" Roberts—may he finally rest in peace.—*Chris Roberts, Brooklyn, New York.*

SADDLE PALS **By Graham Ward**

OLDEN, THEY SAY COWS LYING DOWN MEANS RAIN AND COWS STANDIN' UP MEANS SUNSHINE! WHAT DOES THAT MEAN?
THAT MEANS PARTLY CLOUDY... FOR SHORE!
GRAHAM WARD
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Nolan Weighs In

Reluctant though I am to even enter into a discussion of the matter, I do not feel I can sit quietly by while Misters Jameson and Bean attempt yet again to resurrect this shameful hoax. It's not that I wish to deny them, any more than poor deluded Brushy Bill, their moment in the sun—they have clearly worked hard to assemble their "evidence"—so much as the utter vacuity of their arguments and the tortured prose (if that's the word I'm looking for) in which the whole thing is presented that sticks unbudgeably in my gullet. Never using a simple word when an inapposite ten-dollar one will do, they seek to discredit anyone who challenges them as a "hobbyist" or an "amateur" and by so dismissing them, bolster their own specious historical "qualifications." The only response to this approach left to we amateurs, alas, is to fillet this particularly bloated piece of offal and examine the book and its claims in detail.

I do not presume to speak for *True West* readers, but "historian" Jameson began to lose me, anyway, in his opening statement. He claims this "amazing story captivated me such that for the next 28 years I investigated it at every opportunity. I talked to old-timers who provided first- and second-hand recollections of the Lincoln County War." The arithmetic is barmy. If we assume he means he began investigating in 1964, is he prepared to tell us the names of the men or women from whom he got "first-hand recollections" 86 years after the event?

To catalog the errors in this book would be a labor of Sisyphean proportions, not to mention of Hercules. Beginning by dating the publication of Garrett's *Authentic Life* as 1892, the authors go on—and on and on—presenting their proposition (it can hardly be called evidence) in a welter of bizarre chronology and schoolboy howlers. In the first seventy or so pages (after that I stopped counting out of sheer ennui) there are frequently as many as four or five factual errors

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to the page and never less than one or two (yes, I can and will list them if challenged), quite apart from such solecisms as calling the Kid's stepfather William E. Antrim, or naming "Kip" McKinney "Tip" throughout the book (and also getting his middle initial wrong).

Between pages 38-39 and again in pages 87-90, they present as fact a genealogical history of Brushy Bill which was not only dismissed as a complete fabrication by his family, which not only is not and cannot be documented, but also—while blathering on about "Catherine Bonney" and her son—neglects at any time to even mention the existence of the other son, Joseph. Likewise, on page 41, their so-called "real Billy" outlining his time in Arizona (and placing Camp Grant near Tucson!) signally fails to mention the name of Frank Cahill. On page 42 he has Tom O'Folliard and Dave Rudabaugh riding for Tunstall. On page 44 he claims to have watched "Jimmy Dolan and his boys" kill Tunstall, and on the next to have attended his funeral. On page 49 he is shot through the hip while retrieving a pearl-handled pistol from Brady's body (and has Fred Waite, not Jim French, with him). On page 54 he thinks he killed Bob Beckwith, on the next he says Tom O'Folliard was still in the burning house when McSween was killed, and on the next—*mirabile dictu*, as Dr. Taylor Ealy said—he actually has Mrs. McSween accompanying Huston Chapman when Dolan and Evans killed him (both using six-guns). On page 60 anent the killing of Jimmy Carlyle, he says "not one of my men had fired a shot"—somewhat different from the testimony of Dave Rudabaugh, who no one doubts was there—and at Stinking Spring (page 62) he says Bowdre "ran back through the [door] opening and fell dead at my feet." On page 69 Bell dies inside the courthouse building but on page 25 he has already died outside it. On page 70 he is "racing" back upstairs, and on the next, falling off a horse "encumbered by the heavy manacles and weaponry." On page 72 he is said to have spoken of marriage to Celsa Gutierres—who as all the world knows was already married to Saval Gutierres—and later (page 106) says Celsa and Garrett's wife were Saval's sisters. On pages 72-73 and again on pages 113-115, Roberts tells of a major shootout at Fort Sumner following the death of "Billy Barlow" which—astonishingly—no one but he ever seems to have heard or reported.

One could go on, highlighting the astonishing number of statements given as positive fact which are undocumented, unproveable, or demonstrably untrue. I'll use just one example: on page 44, "research revealed...soldiers did in fact shoot at the McSween house from positions on the hill south of the main road." Which research is that? Equally offensive is the frequency with which blatant inventions are used to bolster their specious arguments. "Why, he [Poe] must have wondered," they say on page xi, "did Garrett insist the dead man was Billy the Kid?" How do they know what Poe was thinking? Or again, in Chapter Four: "Within hours after the shooting...it was being whispered about Fort Sumner that the dead man was not Billy the Kid." By whom, dammit?

Gentle reader, let us flog this utterly dead horse no more. No amount of "anecdotal evidence" (whatever that is), computer jargon, or painfully unscholarly writing can ever even get it up on its feet. I do not know if you—or for that matter Misters Jameson and Bean—will accept me as "possessing the all-so-important credentials and credibility necessary for substantive criticism and contribution," but I do know their proposition is nonsense and I will tell you why. There is one final, irrefutable, unavoidable fact which they never even remotely address: a statement made on December 16, 1987, by Roberts' niece Geneva Pittmon of Canton, Texas. Citing as her authority—and I defy the authors to come up with a better one—the Roberts family Bible, she said that the third child of Henry O. Roberts and his second wife S.E.

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Ferguson (not even mentioned in the work under examination) who were married May 14, 1876, was a son, Oliver P. Roberts, born August 26, 1879.

This single, unassailable piece of documentary evidence utterly destroys any claim the man might have had to be Billy the Kid, or even, for that matter, a participant in the Lincoln County War. It also answers the weasel-word question first coined in *Alias Billy the Kid* and repeated in this one— "If he wasn't Billy the Kid, who was he?" The answer is, he was a pathetic, confused, and deluded old man named Ollie Roberts who had gained all his knowledge from books and maybe a few copies of *Frontier Times*. All his "facts," all his "inside knowledge" can be found in the pages of the 1927 edition of *The Authentic Life* and the 1933 *Death of Billy the Kid* by John Poe, both edited by Maurice G. Fulton; in Walter Noble Burns's *Saga*; in two books by Miguel Otero; George Coe's *Frontier Fighter*; and Irving McKee's fine biography of Lew Wallace—all published long before this sad fraud was first perpetrated.

We are all—amateurs, outlaw buffs, hobbyists, and historians—still trying to define and clarify the truth about the life of Billy the Kid. The authors do him—and us—no service at all by insisting this discredited and dishonest proposition has the slightest historical merit. To challenge or debate it would be to confer upon it a status it does not and will never possess.—*Frederick Nolan, via the Internet.*

From Old Lincoln

As historian for the Lincoln Heritage Trust in Lincoln, New Mexico, I have been following with interest the debate between Chris Roberts and the authors of *The Return of the Outlaw Billy the Kid*. I have not yet had the opportunity to read this latest Brushy Bill saga, but I have read the other books claiming that Brushy was in fact Billy, and have yet to be convinced.

In fact, I would be happy to put aside the other projects in which I am now entrenched and read *The Return of the Outlaw Billy the Kid* if the authors can answer a few basic questions so that I will know that this isn't just an attempt to publicize their book:

1) How is it that Brushy spoke no Spanish and the Kid was fluent? "He forgot" is not a viable answer.

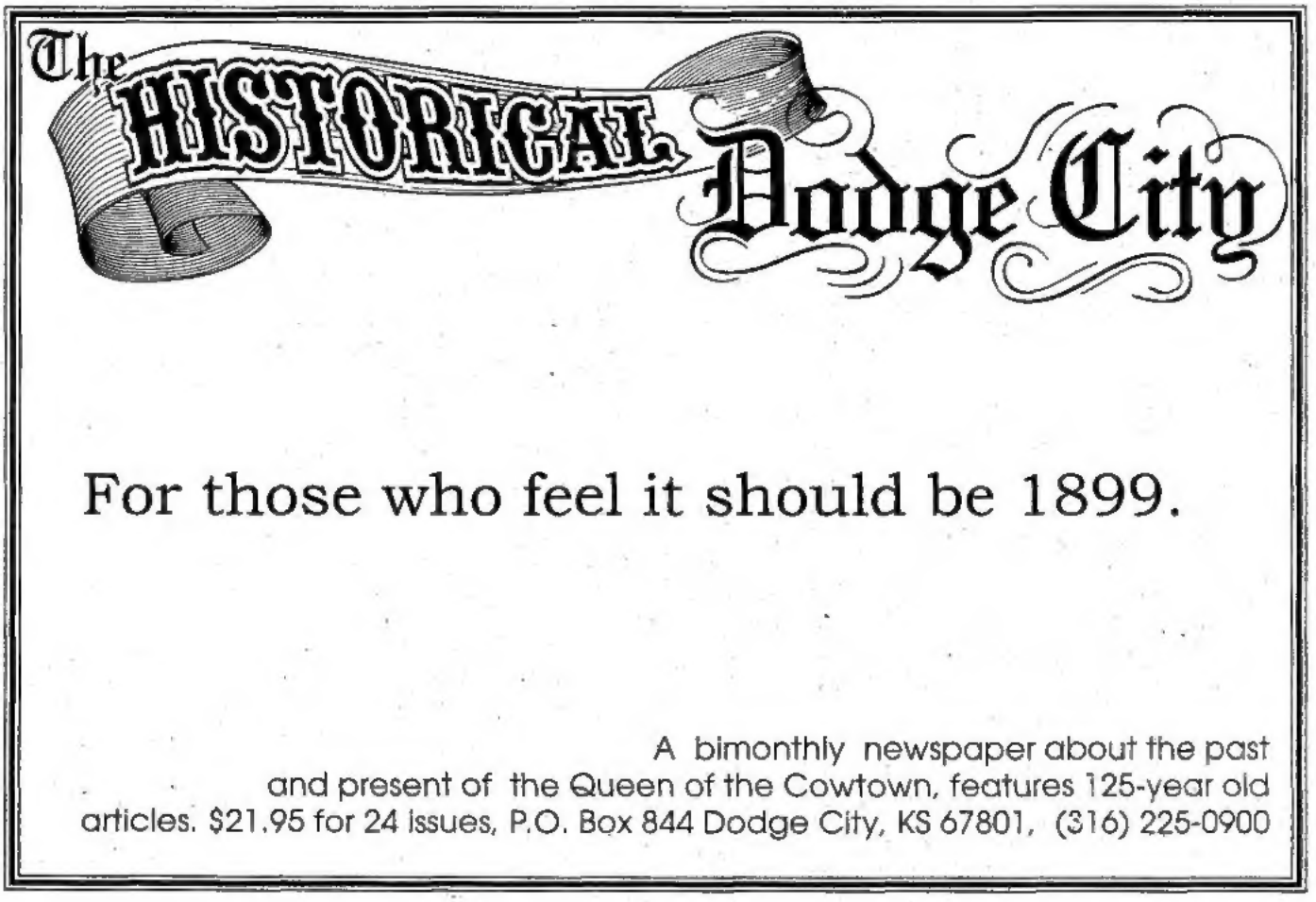
2) What about the matter of Brushy's family bible that states he was born in 1879?

3) What about the wounds that did not match?

4) Brushy was illiterate. The Kid was not. It is a matter of record that Henry McCarty attended school in Silver City. Explanation?

5) Brushy claimed he dropped his gun in the Bonito after the McSween house fire. Neither I nor anyone else has ever found anything in the river but rocks.

As to the letter that the authors sent to Mr. Roberts—there is no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need to be so insultingly patronizing, but as long as they elected to take that approach, I would like to relate a story told to me by the late Dan Storm of Lincoln County.

As a young man, Mr. Storm was employed by George Coe as a fruit picker over at the Coe place and was present the day that Brushy and his lawyer, Morrison, showed up. According to Mr. Storm, George spoke quite convivially with Brushy and Morrison. And after they had left, George nearly fell down laughing.

This story is no proof of anything one way or the other. Nevertheless, most people in Lincoln County were well-acquainted with Dan Storm. And one thing they will all tell you is that Dan *never lied.* "Never" is a might big word, but in the case of Dan Storm, it applies.

The late Rafaelita Pryor of Lincoln also stated that when Brushy Bill came to Lincoln, he had trouble locating the Murphy/Dolan Store-Courthouse. In Billy's time, as now, it is the most imposing structure in town. The real Billy would have gone right to it.

These are just a few of the questions I would like answered before spending time reading yet another Brushy Bill book. As the authors stated in their letter to Mr. Roberts, not a single scholar examined their drafts or data. I will, if they can answer the above listed questions to my satisfaction. That is, of course, working under the assumption that I can pass their clearly stringent requirements and call myself a "scholar."—*Drew Gomber, Historian, Lincoln Heritage Trust, Lincoln, New Mexico.*

Reagan Was Right!

Thanks! The article "Silver in Sandstone" in the February 1999 issue of *True West* solves a mystery that has been bouncing in my head since childhood. Most will remember the series "Death Valley Days" hosted by then future President Ronald Reagan on early black and white television. This program was an extension of a radio series which ran for a considerable number of

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years. It was probably in the early 1940s. I remember sitting and "watching the radio" as the story developed about the miners using rock samples from a broken grindstone to discredit an assayer, tar and feather him, and ride him out of town on a rail. He later came back and staked claims becoming rich.

In more recent years I found that many of the "Death Valley Days" stories were embellished on pretty flimsy information and have always kept my mind open in looking for something that would confirm the "Silver Ore Grindstone" story.

You have provided that evidence, except my feeble mind recalled it to be gold, but that's from about 50 years of hindsight, so I will accept silver without question.—*Ivan L. Pfalser, Caney, Kansas.*

Listener Reviews

Hi again! As I listen to the recorded edition of your magazine every month, my appreciation for the subject coverage is increasing. I just wish I had discovered *True West* years ago.

I greatly appreciate the book review section. (Perhaps this is because I was a librarian?) In addition to the fine coverage of the books cited, the concise bibliographic information presented with each title is one of the best I have seen. My only suggestion to make it perfect, would be the inclusion of the ISBN number for each title. This would assist readers who would like to order any title from their local bookstore or on the net.

Keep up the great work.—*George N. Hartje, Kirksville, Missouri.*

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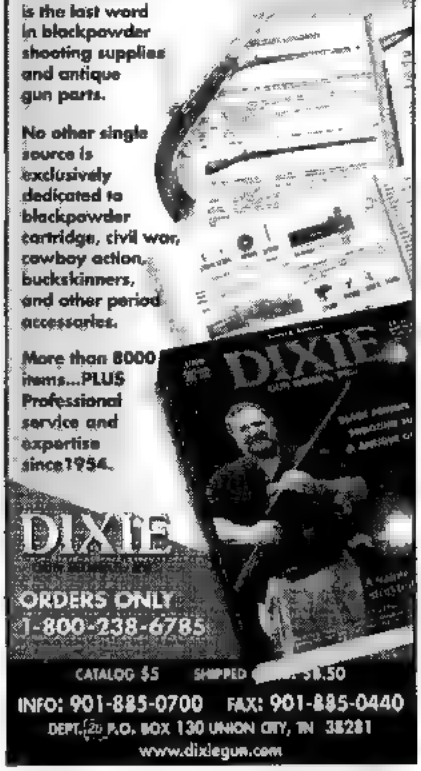

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ROUNDUP

HISTORIC WILLCOX DEPOT REVISITED

by Phyllis de la Garza

On September 16, 1998, after many years of financial struggle, and lengthy negotiations with Southern Pacific, the citizens of Willcox, Arizona, finally experienced the grand opening of the newly restored historic depot.

The Willcox depot, built in the 1880s, is the last original redwood depot standing on the Southern Pacific (now Union Pacific) line in southern Arizona. Willcox, originally called Mahley Camp, was a railroad worker's headquarters in 1877. On August 26, 1880, the first post office was established, and soon thereafter the dusty little community was named after General Orlando B. Willcox, ex-Civil War Union officer, who became commander of the Department of Arizona during the Apache Indian conflicts. (General Willcox was later replaced by General George Crook.)

Through the late 1800s and well past the turn of the century, the railroad depot was the heartbeat of the community.

By the 1930s Willcox was known as the "Cattle Capital of the Nation." But by the late 1960s, due to a lessening of ranching and farming operations in the area, the depot lost its significance. Southern Pacific discontinued passenger service to the town, and by the late

Author's Photo

Fort Huachuca Memorial Cavalry Unit B Troop at the Willcox Depot grand opening, September 16, 1998. Author in the foreground.

Author's Photo

The Southern Pacific Depot in Willcox, Arizona, as it looked before renovation, 1997.

Author's Photo

The Southern Pacific Depot in Willcox, Arizona, after renovation, 1998.

1970s the building was boarded up, and scheduled for demolition.

Spurred into action, the Sulphur Springs Valley Historical Society began a campaign to save the building. The negotiations, strewn with many disappointments, dragged on for nearly twenty years. Finally, with the help of the City of Willcox, private donations, grants, and state lottery funding, an agreement was finally reached with the rail company. The depot was moved sixty feet away from its original foundation (for liability reasons), and renovation was begun.

September 16, 1998, marked the big day for those in the community who had spent so many years working toward the rescue of the old building. The ceremony, attended by nearly 400 people, included a buffet reception, ribbon cutting, flag raising by Willcox Boy Scout Troop 409, music by the Willcox high school marching band, as well as speeches from both local and state officials. One member of the audience, ninety-two-year-old Frances Arzberger Toland, stood and emotionally recalled stepping off the train at the Willcox depot on June 13, 1909, when her family moved to the region from Kansas. An appearance by the memorial cavalry unit B Troop from Fort Huachuca and a number of historical reenactors from Willcox and Tombstone gave the event a feeling of Old West authenticity.

The newly renovated depot will serve as City of Willcox offices, with one room housing a small depot and railroad museum.

The building is located in downtown Willcox, Arizona, on the corner of Maley and Railroad avenues.

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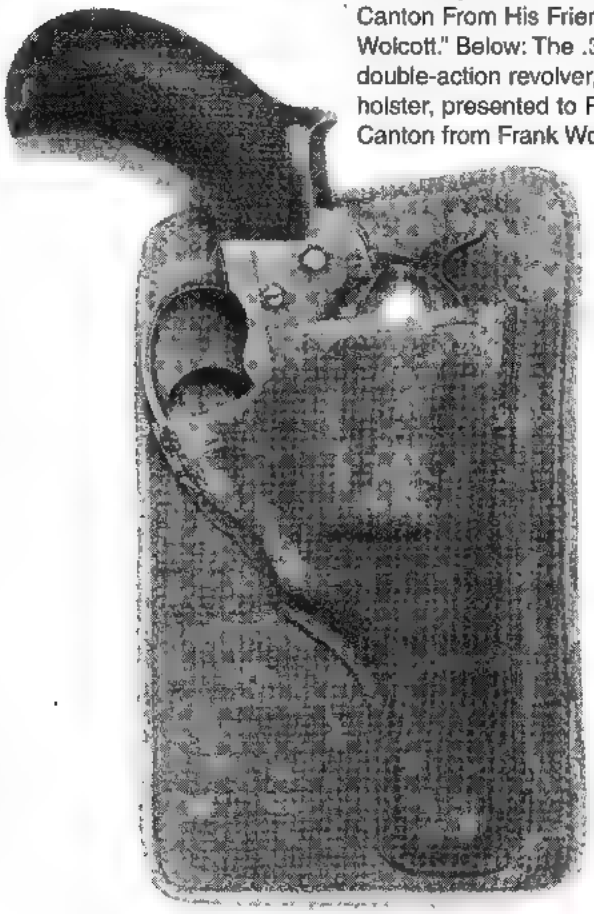
A Tale of TWO FRANKS and a Pistol

Courtesy L.F. Blake



Above: The backstrap of Canton's pistol reads, "F.M. Canton From His Friend F. Wolcott." Below: The .38 Colt double-action revolver, with holster, presented to Frank Canton from Frank Wolcott.

By R.K. DeArment

Weapons of significant figures in the history of the West are eagerly sought by museums and collectors and when authenticated become very valuable. Even more highly prized are presentation guns inscribed with the name of a memorable historical character. But a rarity indeed is a pistol inscribed on the backstrap with the names of *two* important western figures. Such a gun is owned by collectors L.F. and Jan Blake of Amarillo, Texas.

A Colt double-action, .38 caliber revolver, model 1877, serial number 25042, was shipped from the Colt's Firearms Company on June 22, 1880, to Hibbard, Spencer & Co., Chicago, Illinois. At some point it came into the hands of a Wyoming ranch manager and former United States marshal for Wyoming Territory named Francis Edwin "Frank" Wolcott.

Born at Canandaigua, New York, on December 13, 1840, Wolcott first gained fame in the Civil War. In April 1861, at the age of twenty, he enlisted as a private in the Second Ohio Infantry. He earned a commission the following year and by the time he was mustered out in 1866 had risen to the rank of major. He would be known as

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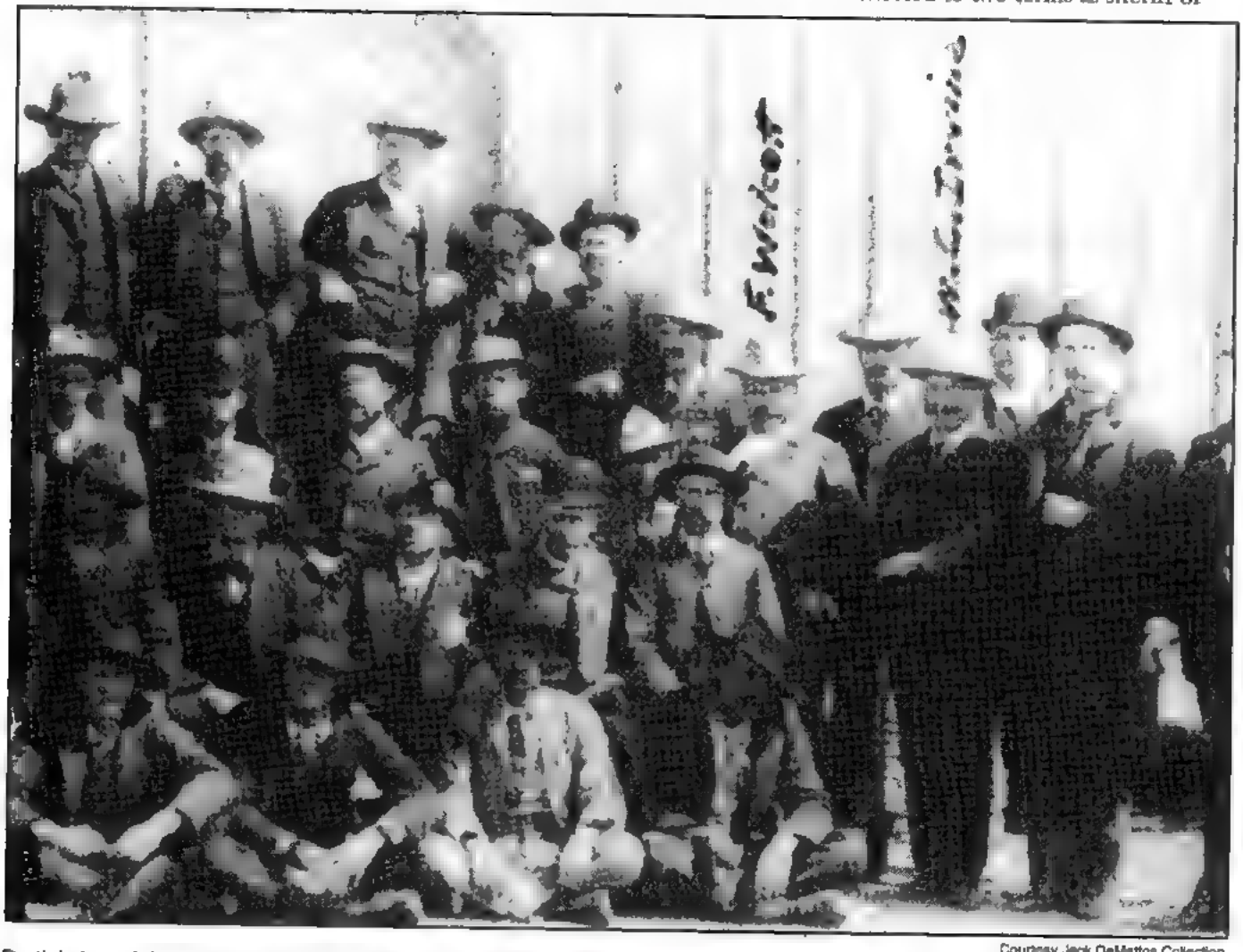
"Major" Wolcott the rest of his life. In April 1870, he moved from Covington, Kentucky, to Cheyenne, Wyoming, where he became receiver of the U.S. Land Office. Two years later he accepted appointment as U.S. marshal for Wyoming. The Blakes also have an ornate gold badge of office worn by Wolcott. Inscribed on the back: "Yours, Sweet Callie, 1872." It presumably was a gift from a female admirer.

Following his term as marshal, Wolcott managed the Tolland Cattle Company's VR ranch on Deer Creek, a few miles south of the present town of Glenrock, Wyoming. He lived in a fine house staffed by Chinese servants and was a prominent member of the Wyoming Stock Growers Association. In the summer of 1885, he was host to a young Pennsylvania writer named Owen Wister who came west to gather material for his classic western novel *The Virginian*.

John Clay, another leading member of the Stock Growers Association, characterized Wolcott as "a fire-eater, honest, clean, a rabid Republican with a complete absence of tact, very well educated, and when you knew him a most delightful companion. Most people hated him, many feared him, a few loved him." Helena Huntington Smith, author of the classic history of the Johnson County Cattle War, *The War on Powder River*, called him a "bloodthirsty little rooster..., obsessed with the idea of a bloodbath in Wyoming."

As the 1880s drew to a close, tensions developed between the managers of the large Wyoming ranches and the small operators of cattle spreads. The "cattle barons," as the homesteaders called Wolcott and other members of the WSGA, claimed to be losing cattle at an alarming rate and blamed the losses on "the rustlers," as they labeled the small ranchers.

Out on the vast Wyoming cattle ranges the foremost defender of the big cattlemen's interests at the time was a tough, cold-eyed former sheriff of Johnson County named Frank Canton. Now chief of the Detective Bureau for the WSGA, Canton had a dark history. Born Josiah Horner on September 15, 1849, in Henry County, Indiana, he had gone to Texas as a teenager and become a cowboy. By the middle 1870s he had turned to outlawry. Captured, convicted, and sentenced to a long term in the Texas State Penitentiary, he escaped and fled to Wyoming, where he changed his name and his ways. Elected to two terms as sheriff of



Courtesy Jack DeMattos Collection

Partial view of the "Johnson County Invaders." Frank Wolcott is featured, sixth from left, in light hat. Frank Canton is seated directly in front of him.

Johnson County, he became a well-respected law officer and staunch champion of the WSGA.

Sometime in the 1880s, probably in October 1887 when Canton became head of the cattlemen's detective force, Wolcott had the .38 Colt double-action revolver specially inscribed as a presentation gift. On the backstrap was the legend: "F.M. Canton From His Friend F. Wolcott." The pistol was thus emblazoned with the names of two of the men who would play prominent roles in the Johnson County Cattle War as leaders in the disastrous expedition of extermination mounted by the "cattle barons" against the "rustlers" in 1892. The ignominious defeat suffered by the big cattlemen, according to most historians of the invasion, directly resulted from disastrous tactical decisions by Wolcott that Canton bitterly opposed. The two men never reconciled.

The names of the two Franks, Wolcott and Canton, would be forever associated in the history of the Johnson County Cattle War, but anyone so unfortunate as to read the freakish writing of prolific crime "historian" Jay Roberts Nash would find the names linked in the preposterous statement that "the Red Sash Gang," a "notorious band of rustlers and killers" in Wyoming "was headed at times by gunslinger Frank M. Canton and Major Frank Wolcott."

The Red Sash Gang, which got its name from members' practice of wearing red waist sashes to protect their clothing from oily cartridges in their loop belts, was an outlaw band headed by Charlie Taylor and "Black Henry" Smith that took advantage of the cattleman-settler turmoil in Johnson County to further its own nefarious ends. The murder of Deputy U.S. Marshal George Wellman in May 1892 was believed the work of the Red Sashes. The gang was anathema to Canton and Wolcott, of course, and the names of many of its members, including those of Taylor and Smith, appeared on the invaders' death list. (Something about the name "Red Sash Gang" seems to trigger a nonsensical response in those who distort western history. Screenwriters for the movie *Tombstone*, magically moved the distinctive red outlaw sashes back a decade in time and a thousand miles in distance to place them around the waists of the "cow-boys" of Cochise County, Arizona, the sworn enemies of Wyatt Earp.)

American Heritage center, University of Wyoming

General Frank Canton.

The Wyoming cattlemen's invading army, which set out from Cheyenne for Casper by special train on April 5, 1892, had the express purpose of killing or driving from Wyoming all those they blamed for rustling their stock. The force numbered about fifty men and was composed of three groups. Ranch owners, foremen, and managers were headed by Major Wolcott. Frank Canton, former head of the Detective Bureau of the WSGA, led a group of range detectives and inspectors. Tom Smith, another former WSGA detective, was in charge of a band of mercenary gunfighters he had recruited in Texas

Only hours into the trip, Wolcott and Canton clashed, a portent of things to come. Canton entered the baggage car where Wolcott was directing the arrangement of supplies. The major ordered him out in a tone Canton resented. Sharp words were exchanged. As Billy Irvine, one of the ranchers, recalls, "This was the start of a bitter feeling between the two which gave us considerable trouble later."

At Casper the invaders unloaded and on horseback continued on toward Buffalo, the rustler headquarters in Johnson County. When they received a report that some of the rustlers were at a cabin on the nearby KC ranch, disagreement broke out over a course of action. Wolcott wanted to mount an immediate attack on the cabin, while Canton argued with vehemence that the cattlemen's only hope for success was to push on to Buffalo and take it by surprise. If a single man at the KC escaped to alert the enemy at Buffalo, he said, the expedition was

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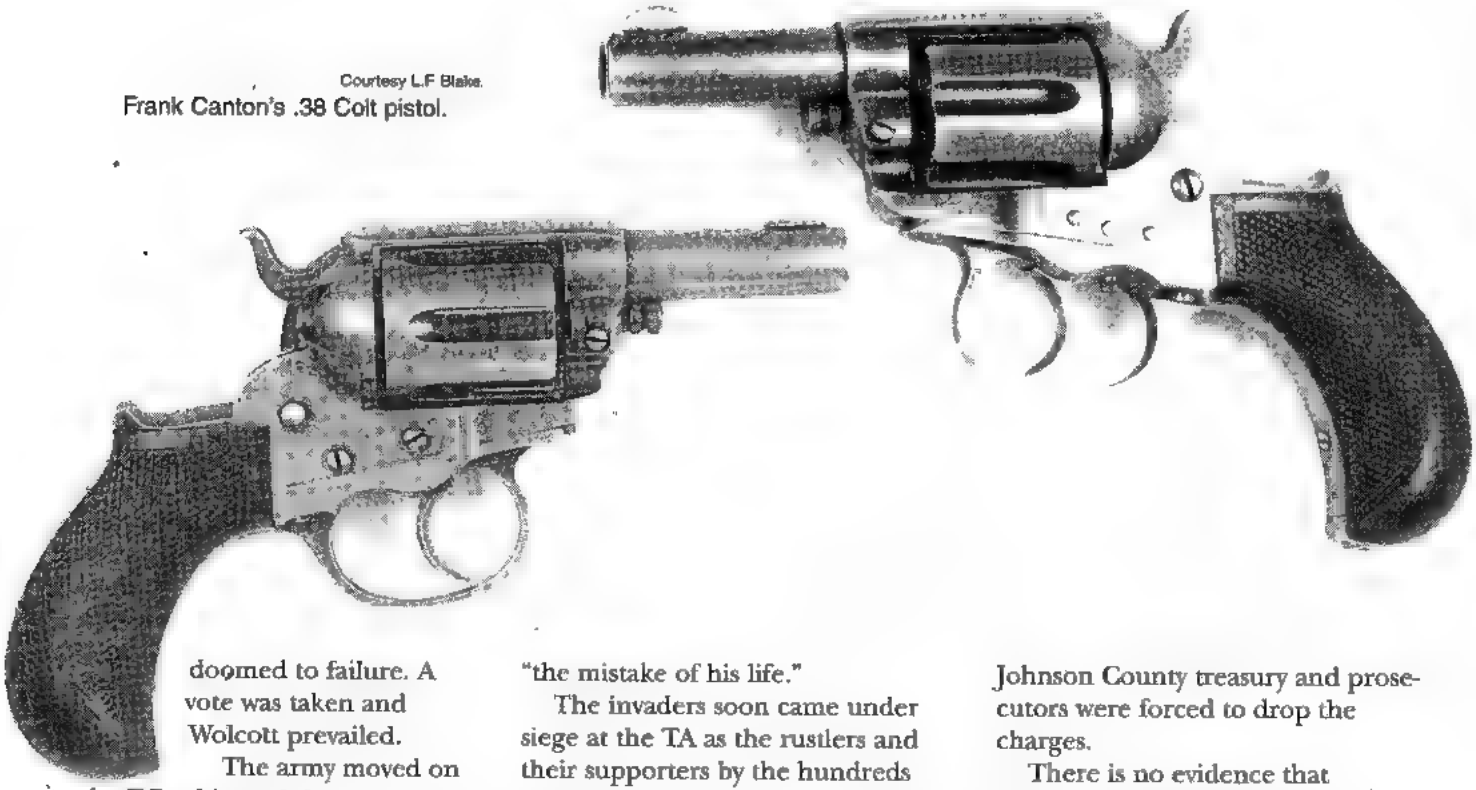

Courtesy L.F Blake.
Frank Canton's .38 Colt pistol.

doomed to failure. A vote was taken and Wolcott prevailed.

The army moved on to the KC cabin and the memorable battle with Nate Champion and Nick Ray. Both rustlers were killed, but Champion's gallant fight against fifty-to-one odds delayed the invaders an entire day and allowed a rangeland Paul Revere to alert Buffalo and the countryside of the invasion, just as Canton had predicted.

As the invaders approached Buffalo they were met by a supporter who excitedly told them that the town was mobilized and they should fall back to the TA ranch quarters, fourteen miles to the south Another debate ensued. According to Sam T. Clover, a Chicago newspaperman who accompanied the expedition, Canton, who had been "morose" ever since his advice had been rejected in the KC decision, now strongly urged an attack on the town, and was supported by Tom Smith and others. But again the majority of the ranchers were swayed by the arguments of Wolcott, who favored a retreat to the TA, and the invaders turned back. Cattleman Fred Hesse, who supported Canton in the argument, was so irate he called Wolcott "a bloody block-headed dutchman." In his memoirs Canton simply said that with his decision Wolcott made "the mistake of his life."

The invaders soon came under siege at the TA as the rustlers and their supporters by the hundreds converged on the hills around the ranch buildings. The fight went on for three days. The rustlers seemed on the verge of overwhelming the invaders when, just like in the movies, a cavalry unit from nearby Fort McKinney arrived to bring a halt to hostilities. Members of the invading army were arrested and taken to the fort where they were held, more for their protection than incarceration. They were later moved to Fort Russell, near Cheyenne, and allowed to move about freely while they awaited trial for the killing of Champion and Ray.

In a photograph of the entire group taken at this time Frank Wolcott can be seen standing immediately behind Frank Canton, who is seated.

The Johnson County Invaders were defended by the best legal minds in Wyoming, led by Willis Van Devanter, later a justice of the U.S. Supreme Court. Van Devanter also headed the defense team for Canton, who had separate murder charges pending in Johnson County. The lawyers carried on a campaign of delay which eventually was successful in both cases. The delays and responses to legal maneuvering exhausted the Johnson County treasury and prosecutors were forced to drop the charges.

There is no evidence that Wolcott and Canton were ever friendly, or associated in any way, after the bitter strategy disagreements of the invasion. Wolcott lived quietly, dropping out of the public eye after playing his part in the widely publicized Johnson County War. He resided in Douglas and Sheridan until 1894, when he moved to Nebraska to become general agent at the Omaha stockyards. He lived in Grand Island and Lincoln from 1900 until his death in Denver on April 30, 1910.

Frank Canton's celebrity in the West was only beginning, however. After a short residence in Nebraska City, Nebraska, where one of his influential rancher friends got him a position as superintendent of a packing company, he returned to law enforcement, taking a job as under sheriff of a new county in Oklahoma Territory and a commission as deputy U.S. marshal. Obtaining a pardon for his crimes in Texas as Joe Horner, he went on to a remarkable career as an officer of the law in Oklahoma and Alaska. In 1907 he was appointed adjutant general of the new state of Oklahoma, commanding the National Guard. He served in this capacity under three governors, and retired in 1916 as a major gen-

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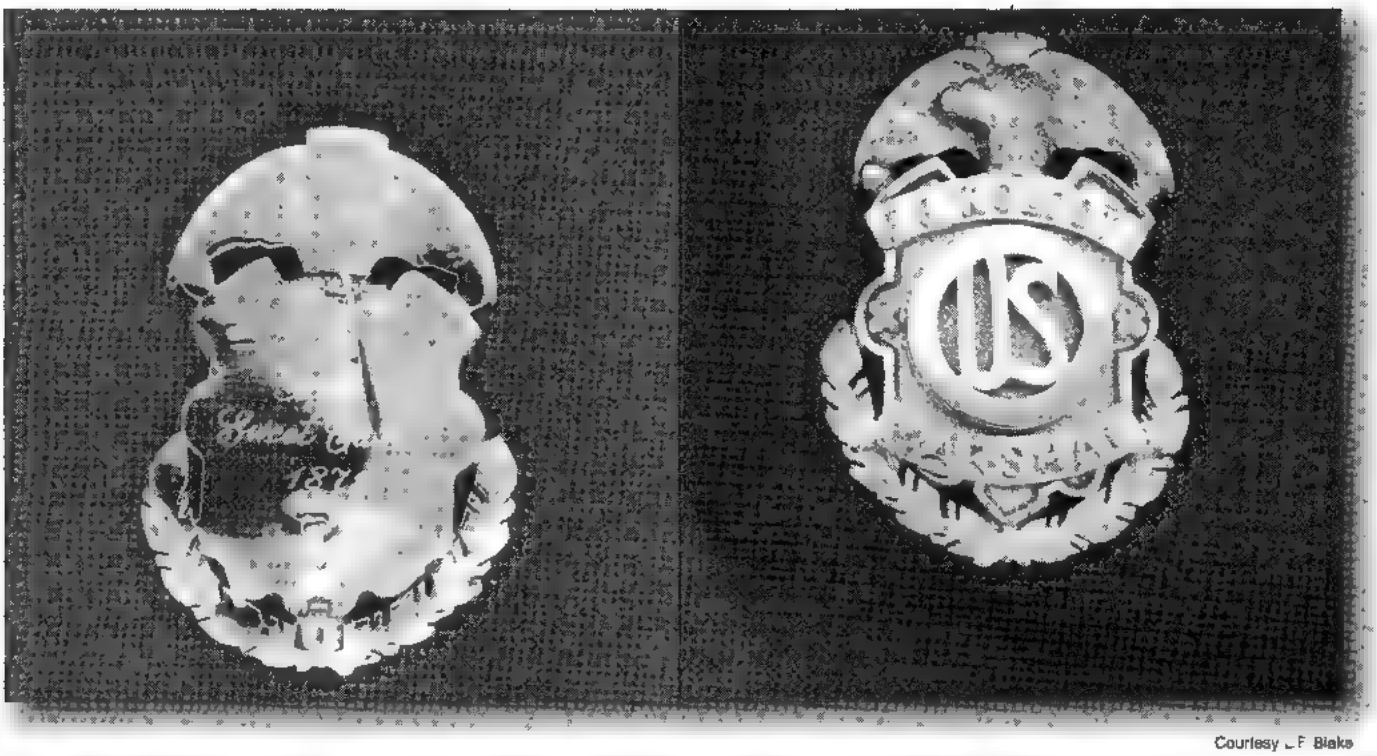


Courtesy L.F. Blake

Frank Wolcott's United States marshal badge. The back is inscribed, "Yours, Sweet Callie, 1872."

eral. When he died at Edmond, Oklahoma, on September 27, 1927, his body was taken to Oklahoma City where, fitted out in a general's dress uniform, it lay in state in the capitol building in a flag-covered casket flanked by an honor guard.

One wonders if Frank Wolcott, still called "Major" in his declining years in Nebraska, was aware the man with whom he clashed over tactics during the disastrous Johnson County invasion came to out-rank him, and, had they met, he would have had to address as "General."

It is doubtful that Canton, in his work as a lawman, ever carried the pistol Wolcott had given him. In the two recorded instances in which he engaged men in handgun combat, he employed other weapons.

In October 1894, Canton shot a man named Lon McCool at Pawnee, Oklahoma, using, as he later wrote, "a heavy pocket derringer..., a forty-one caliber Colt." He shot McCool in the forehead, just over the left eye, but the bullet glanced off, encircled the skull under the skin, and emerged in the back of the head. McCool was unconscious for twelve hours, but recovered. In disgust Canton threw the derringer away and never carried another.

In November 1896, Canton shot and killed an old enemy, Bee Dunn, at Pawnee. In his account of the incident, he said he used "a forty-five caliber Colt's revolver." Again he shot his adversary in the head, "hitting him in the center of his forehead about one-half inch above the brim of this derby hat and killing him instantly."

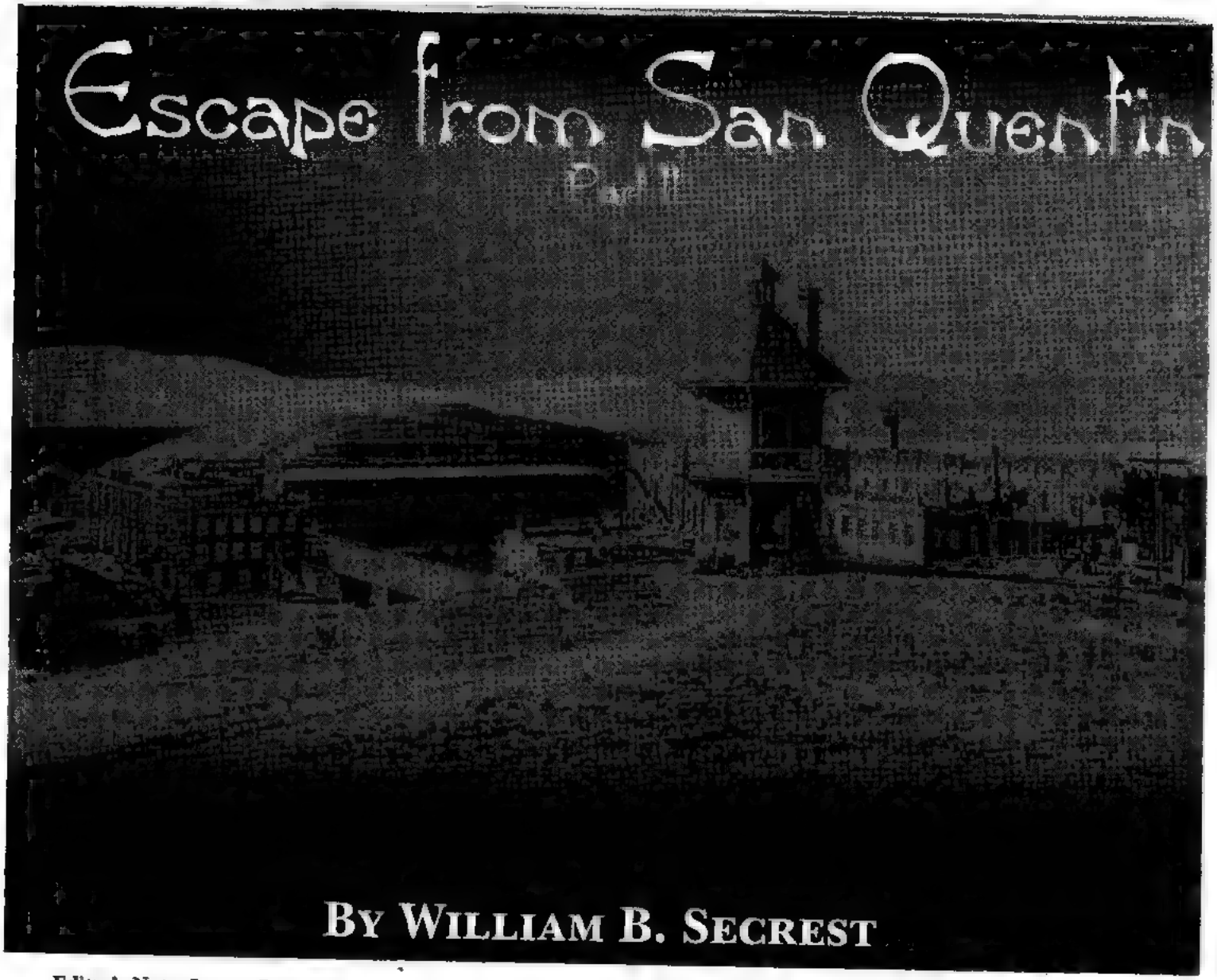
In his extensive autobiographical writings, Canton never mentioned the .38-caliber, double-action Colt Wolcott had given him. Where it was from the time Wolcott made his presentation until the 1930s is not known.

A man named Hugh Stewart came into possession of the gun some time before World War II when he became a deputy sheriff and a friend, a farmer near Caldwell, Kansas, presented it to him as a gift. The pistol came with a holster in which were nail holes. For many years, the farmer said, he kept the pistol "nailed to a post in his barn where it would be handy." Stewart never used the weapon on duty because a more experienced deputy told him it "was too old and not safe to shoot, and...hung up now and then." The pistol also was chambered for "short shells," not the .38 specials to which he had access.

Stewart knew nothing of the weapon's history. He remembered, hearing of Frank Canton's exploits as an officer in early Oklahoma, but had not idea who F. Wolcott was. Some years later J.M. Davis, owner of the famous gun collection housed in his Mason Hotel at Claremore, Oklahoma, approached Stewart and offered him sixty-five dollars for it, but he declined, figuring it was worth more than that. In 1968 he sold the revolver to California collector Robert Vaughn Bell, who documented its manufacturing and initial sales history in correspondence with Colt Industries. The current owners, L.F. and Jan Blake, later acquired the pistol and also Wolcott's elaborate U.S. marshal badge, which makes an interesting accessory to the historic weapon.

Escape from San Quentin

Part II



By William B. Secrest

Editor's Note: In our first installment (March 1999, *True West*), author Secrest outlined the development of the San Quentin penitentiary and the many early escapes and attempted escapes. Under the eye of founding warden James Madison Estell, the most notorious escape occurred in December 1854. After another episode, the embarrassed and politically ruined Estell sold his contract with the prison to John F. McCauley in May 1857. But the largest escape from San Quentin was yet to come.

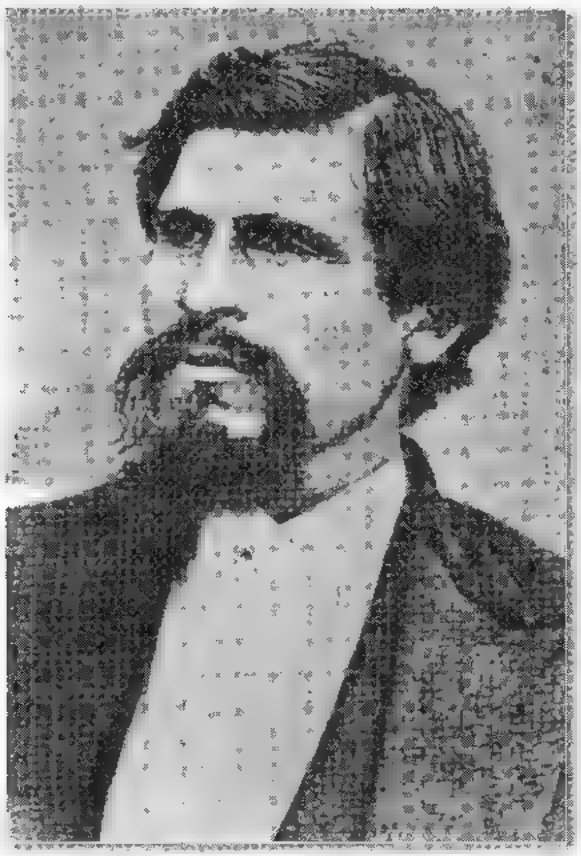
In September 1857 the San Jose *Tribune* published some eye-opening data on the penitentiary at Point San Quentin:

> According to the report of John C. Gordon, Superintendent of the State Prison, the total number of convicts that escaped from the institution from April, 1856, to August 31st, 1857, is one hundred and eleven! Retaken and brought back during the same period, thirty-five! Still at large, seventy-six! The whole number of convicts now in prison is five hundred. The State Prison is supposed to be a place in which convicts can be safely kept; but this is a fallacious idea, as the figures most conclusively show.

These constant escapes were bound to make the guards nervous, and it wasn't surprising when they overreacted. At midday on November 5, 1857, a group of prisoners were unloading wood from a schooner opposite guard post No. 10. When partially unloaded, the boat overseer ordered the convicts to move the craft forward to facilitate their work. As they pushed the boat off from the dock, the guard at post No. 10 thought they were attempting an escape. After yelling several times, the guard fired his cannon, filled with grape and canister. The slaughter was terrible, three men being killed outright, while some six others were wounded.

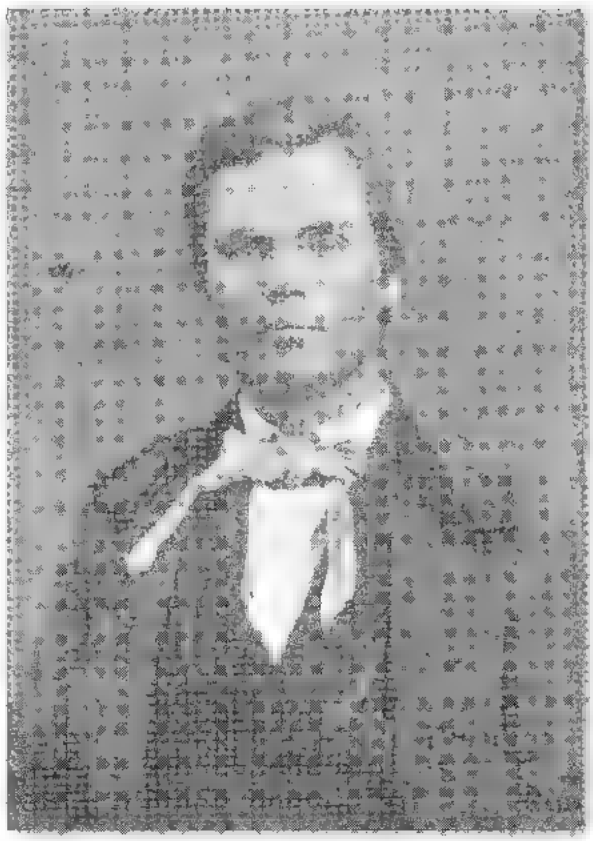
The prisoners stated they had not heard the warnings and were only doing as they had been ordered. Superintendent Gordon seemed to think they must have heard the warnings, but the convicts were confused about whether to obey their overseer or the guard. By the time a coroner's jury was convened on November 13, two more convicts had died. It was ruled that there was no criminal intent in the killings, and the guard was absolved of any blame.

Warden John F. McCauley's reign



Wells, Fargo History Room

Left: Tiburcio Vasquez spent much time in San Quentin. He escaped in 1859, but was soon recaptured.



Right: William "Pacing Bill" Scott, a Sacramento convict, was one of the principals in the Orlinski break of 1859. He was recaptured and died in San Quentin in 1862.

Author's Collection

at San Quentin quickly threatened to outdo even the excesses of James Estell. Besides pocketing earnings from the brickyard and hiring out his convicts to build roads and work for local farmers, McCauley turned a profit in other ways. Although his lease agreement mandated prisoners be adequately housed, clothed, and fed, an 1859 inspection committee found outrageous violations were taking place:

> The committee...found on the nineteenth of January, the evening of their arrival at the prison, some one hundred and twenty-five prisoners entirely barefoot, and quite a number with nothing more than old gunny-sacks or pieces of blankets tied around their feet, none having anything in the shape of socks furnished them by the lessee...
>
> The general clothing of the prisoners seems too scant for winter weather....Appears to be the last remains of what was worn there by them, now in such a tattered, torn, forbidding, and filthy condition, that the commonest street beggars...by comparison, have the appearance of newly Persian clad gentlemen. The bedding... Seemed insufficient to protect them from absolute suffering from cold. The cells being six feet by ten, [had] two shelves on each side, about two feet each in width, upon which is a kind of straw mattress, and one coarse, shaggy, double blanket....Many of the blankets are torn and partially gone, so that to prevent absolute suffering from cold, they are compelled to sleep with their day clothing on....The lice being so plentiful, as to be seen crawling about the so-called bed and bedding....The stench issuing from the room, when opened in the morning, will have to be imagined, as a description is impossible.

Naturally, the proclivity to escape from such a place was an overriding concern of many prisoners.

Despite the austerity of the administration, a new brick building housing more cellblocks was constructed in late 1858. It was three stories high, with seven cells along each floor on each side. For some reason a collection of the most desperate convicts in the prison were placed in this new building. Alexander Orlinski, a notorious burglar, was there, along with "Pacing Bill" Scott, a robber; Jim Ivy, a horse thief and burglar; and eleven others. Heavy brick walls separated all the cells and there was no way for the inmates to communicate. Joseph A. Sterritt, a burglar doing a fifteen-year sentence, recalled there was little planning to the break that took place on the night of May 21, 1859:

> My cell-mate, Lawrence, had been unwell for several days 'owing to the ill-treatment received at the hands of the authorities and the scarcity of food, and he was restless and could not sleep. About the hour of midnight...Lawrence awakened me and told me to listen; I did so and heard a slight scratching sound against the wall which divided us from No. 6. I remarked that it was a rat; the sound continued, and presently a small piece of mortar dropped on the floor of our cell. Lawrence whispered that someone was breaking through.... In a few

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ESCAPED FROM THE STATE PRISON

On the Night of the 21st of May, 1859,

FOURTEEN PRISONERS,

VIZ:

JOSEPH A. STERRITT,
THOMAS LAWRENCE,
LOUIS BOWMAN,
HENRY THOMPSON,
JAMES DOALAN,
JAMES GARVIN,
ALEX. ORLINSKI,
THOS. GALLAGHER,
S. D. THOMPSON,
THOMAS LYNCH,
WM. SCOTT, alias "Pacing Bill," alias "William Gadson,"
JNO. F. LIVINGSTON, alias "Wm. Freeman,"
JAS. CURRY, alias "James Ivy,"
COLLIN DOUGLASS, alias "Scotty."

DESCRIPTION:

JOSEPH A. STERRITT—Virginian, from San Francisco; 24 years of age; gas fitter; 15 years, grand larceny. Height 5 feet 7; light complexion; dark blue eyes; brown hair; sharp features and large nose; E. V. K., with a heart and an arrow, on left arm.

THOMAS LYNCH—Ireland; 24 years of age; Yuba county; 3 years; (old convict); 5 feet 10¾; light complexion; light eyes; light hair; full features; stout built. Bracelet, in ink, on each wrist.

THOMAS LAWRENCE—Pennsylvania; 22 years of age; sailor; from Stanislaus county; grand larceny; 3½ years; 5 feet 7¾; dark complexion; grey eyes; auburn hair.

WILLIAM SCOTT—Pacing Bill—Kentucky; 29 years of age; from Sacramento county; robbery; 14 years; 5 feet 10½; light complexion; grey eyes; brown hair; features broad; high cheek bones; ears small; stoutly built.

LOUIS BOWMAN—German; 22 years of age; from Sacramento county; false personation; 5 years; 5 feet 4¾; light complexion; hazel eyes and brown hair; (his second escape).

HENRY THOMPSON—Sweden; 23 years of age; from Sacramento county; grand larceny; 14 years; 5 feet 8½; fair complexion; light grey eyes; light brown hair; broad features; nose slightly turned up; lips compressed.

JAMES DOALAN—Louisiana; 23 years of age; from Napa county; grand larceny; 6 years; 5 feet 6¾; light complexion; blue eyes and brown hair; sharp features.

JOHN F. LIVINGSTON—New York; 30 years of age; from Eldorado county; grand larceny; 5 years; 5 feet 11½; light complexion; blue eyes; light hair; full features; prominent nose; stoutly built.

JAMES GARVIN—Arkansas; 22 years of age; from Del Norte county; robbery; 20 years; 5 feet 9½; dark complexion; blue eyes; dark hair; round face; sharp nose; freckled.

JAMES CURRY, alias "Ivy"—Tennessee; 29 years of age; from Amador county; grand larceny and breaking jail; 7 years; 5 feet 11½; dark complexion; grey eyes; black hair; 3 moles on right side of his face.

ALEX. ORLINSKI—Poland; 50 years of age; from San Francisco; grand larceny, etc; 15 years; 5 feet 7; dark complexion; hazel eyes; dark hair; large nose; moles on right side of face, under left eye and on left jaw; nervous twitching in eyelids.

THOMAS GALLAGHER—Ireland; 25 years of age; from San Francisco; manslaughter; 8 years; sailor; 5 feet 7¼; dark complexion; hazel eyes; dark hair; ink marks all over his body.

COLLIN DOUGLASS, alias "Scotty"—Scotland; 26 years of age; from Sacramento county; burglary; 5 years; 5 feet 7¾; light complexion, blue eyes and dark hair, high cheek bones and large ears.

S. D. THOMPSON—Illinois; 24 years of age; from Amador county; intent to rob; 10 years; 5 feet 10½; light complexion, blue eyes, light hair.

ONE UNDRED DOLLARS REWARD

Will be paid by me for the apprehension and delivery at the State Prison of each one of the above named convicts.

JOHN F. McCAULEY.

May 22, 1859. my23-7

Author's Collection

Notice in the San Francisco *Daily Alta California* describing the May 1859 San Quentin escape attempt. Recreated below for clarity.

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May 22, 1859 my23-7

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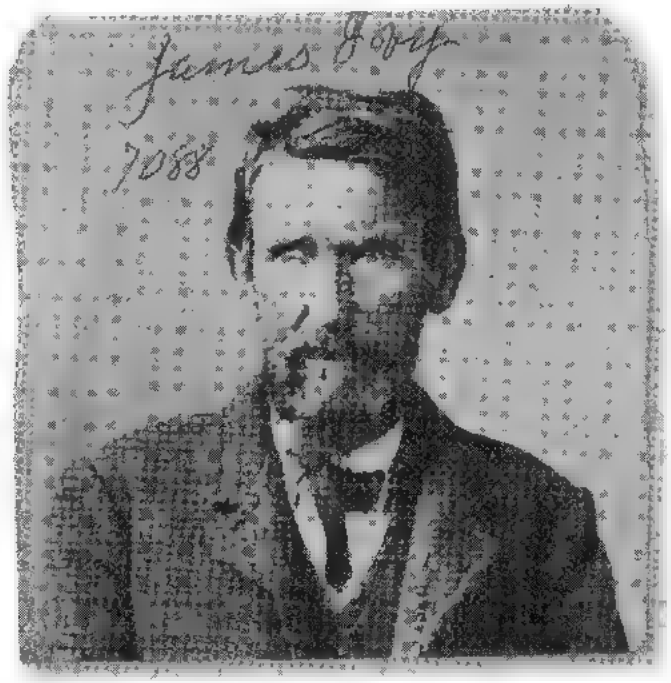
moments a brick was moved and Lynch from the other cell said in a low tone, "We are going out; get ready."

That night the convicts dug through the walls separating all seven of the cells on that particular floor. By four in the morning all the brick partitions had been burrowed through, including the outside wall. A blanket rope was now lowered some twelve feet into an adjoining blacksmith shop. Quickly, the convicts shimmied down to ground level. As a prisoner named Gallagher started his descent, the "rope" broke, sending him crashing to the ground. Another rope was prepared and soon all were out of the building and into the prison yard.

Orlinski, Ivy, and several others had been first out, and the second group found where they had placed a long plank against the outside wall. Once on top of the wall no sentries could be seen and they spotted a rope tied to a sentry box. All dropped quietly to the ground and ran for the safety of the hills. Orlinski's group had disappeared, but the second group, six convicts, stuck together for a time. They halted near a farmhouse and convicts Bowman and Douglas volunteered to try and obtain an axe to cut their shackles.



Author's Collection

Jim Ivy was part of the Orlinski break of 1859. He first entered San Quentin in 1854 and died in Folsom after spending some thirty-five years in California prisons.

When the two never returned, the others debated what to do. When Tom Lynch thought he saw a light at the prison, he and a convict named Thompson took off running, leaving Joe Sterritt and Pacing Bill to themselves.

"Sterritt had got separated from his chum, Lawrence," commented Pacing Bill, "and I had lost my cellmate, Bowman, so we agreed to stand by each other to the last. Sterritt could walk much faster than I could, and might have left me if he wished, but he would not desert me. We kept on toward the base of the mountain...." After several close calls with searching guards, the two convicts managed to steal a boat and made their way across the bay to San Francisco. The two were desperately hungry by now. It was Tuesday morning and their last meal had been Saturday at the prison. While deliberating their next move in a San Francisco alley, the convicts were seized by a group of suspicious citizens and turned over to the police. They were glad to get a good meal at the station house, but were not anxious to return to prison knowing what was in store for them. Of the fourteen convicts who escaped that night, seven were recaptured. Tom Lynch was abandoned and died when he couldn't keep up, but the rest made good their escape. McCauley ran a large display ad in the San Francisco *Herald* listing names and descriptions of the escaped convicts, and offering $100 for each upon their delivery at the state prison. No one went out of their way to capture anyone, however, since McCauley had already stated he would pay no more rewards for escaped prisoners. As for tunneling out of the cells and building, Pacing Bill Scott commented:

> As I looked at the work we had accomplished in a few hours, I could hardly realize it; it was like a dream.
>
> But the partition walls of the cells were miserably constructed; the mortar was soft and made of bad lime. I could scrape it out with my finger....The man who superintended that work ought to have been the first one confined in the cells.

And this was no spiteful remark of a convict trying to cause trouble. Joseph O'Connor, the contractor, anxious to distance himself from such charges, blamed the prison authorities, noting that "the walls were damp and green, not having had sufficient time for the work to set or the mortar to take bond. In fact, the building was erected in the depth of winter and in the rainy season...." O'Connor further accused officials of allowing the cell partition walls to be only a foot thick, when plans called for sixteen inches. The building walls, too, were only two feet thick, while the plans called for three-foot dimensions. It was yet another indication of prison authorities' neglect of their responsibilities.

Another break was quick to follow. On the afternoon of June 25, 1859, the lower gate was opened and the brickyard crew, mostly short-term Mexicans and Indians, were being counted out by two guards. The brickyard was just across the road from the walls, and just as some 150 convicts had been turned out, a group of about fifty prisoners slammed the gate and seized the two guards as hostages. Prodding guards George Lee and John Spell ahead with homemade knives, the escaping convicts moved rapidly up the road leading to Corte Madera Creek.

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Guards on the walls hesitated to shoot because of the hostages. Assuming the brickyard crew were all in on the plot, the guards blazed away at them even as they fell on their knees and screamed that they were not escaping. Cannon and rifle fire killed one man and wounded several others.

Under the leadership of a desperado named Francisco Lulio, alias "Acapulco," the convicts rushed down with the hostages. Spell could not keep up and was left behind, but Lee was rushed on with his hands tied. They had gotten about three miles from the prison when the horse guards swooped down and opened fire. Lulio tried to stab Lee but caught a shotgun blast in the face and collapsed in a bloody heap. The convicts scattered into the surrounding hills and gulches as the guards began rounding them up.

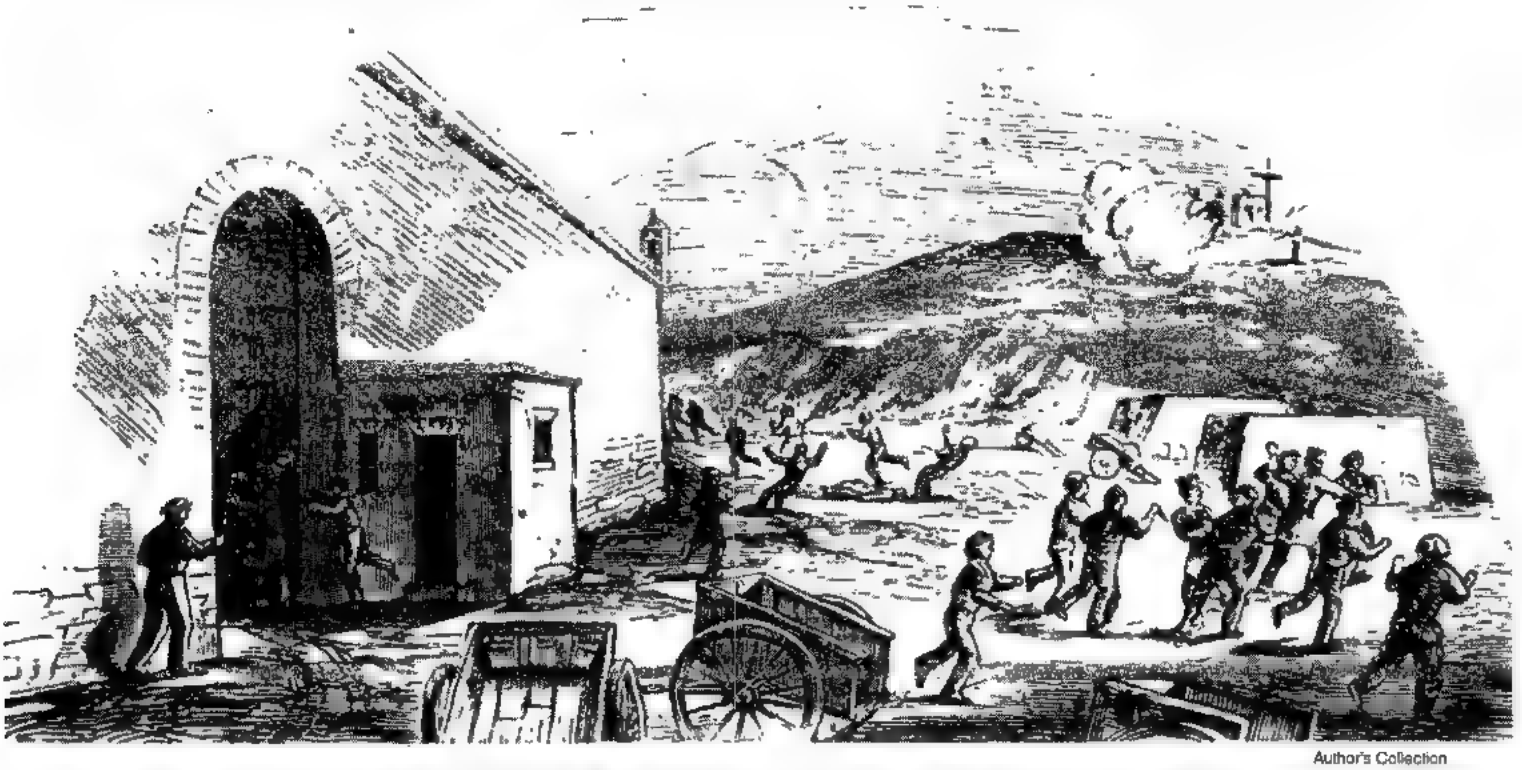
By the end of the day, three convicts had been killed and seven wounded. Nine of the fugitives were retaken, while twenty-eight remained at large. The notorious Tiburcio Vasquez made a successful getaway with one Jesus Mendosa, but both were recaptured the following month when they stole some horses in the gold rush country. Lulio's body was carried back to the prison for burial, but he was found to be still alive. He lost an eye, but recovered from his wounds to participate in even more escapes.

James Estell sold his interest in the McCauley contract in January of 1859 and died a few months later. McCauley still fought to maintain his prison empire, which was making him rich at the expense of the prisoners and the state. When he was finally forced out in August 1860, it was with a goodly amount of settlement money from the legislature and loot from his exploitation of his position. His convict charges never learned from him that crime didn't pay. He retired to a Sacramento County farm and made even more money. He died in 1896 at the age of seventy-seven.

The state now had control of the prison as it should have, maintained critics, from the start. The state lieutenant governor was warden, with a board of directors and other safeguards firmly in place. Although private abuses had been traded in for the patronage system, the prison now seemed to have set sail on a steady course. But, as might be suspected, the only steady things were chicanery and fraud. Too, penitentiaries would never be a happy place and the bloody, mass escapes continued.

Most of the guards and officials had been replaced after Governor Leland Stanford was elected in late 1861. Lieutenant Governor John F. Chellis was ex-officio warden, but his deputy pretty much ran the prison. Chellis, a heavy-set politician and sawmill operator, generally visited the prison often enough to keep his $10 a day salary as comfortable as possible. This was outside of his $75 a month salary as a prison director and didn't include his free house, food, and horse allowance.

Chellis had just retired to his office, after lunch, on the afternoon of July 22, 1862. At twelve-thirty the rear gate was opened and a group of prisoners began filing out to return to their jobs in the brickyard. As a trusty kept tally of the convicts, ten of them broke away and ran back into the yard, heading for Chellis' office. There were shouts from guards on the wall, but they couldn't get a bead on the swift-moving prisoners who disap-



Author's Collection

The big San Quentin break of June 25, 1859. Originally published in the *California Police Gazette*, July 2, 1859.

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peared into the headquarters building.

As the convicts burst into Chellis' office and seized him, other rebels grabbed gatekeeper Cornelius "Con" Murphy and demanded his keys. Murphy refused and was swinging his ring of keys as a weapon when the others appeared with Chellis in tow. The warden was forced to order Murphy to give up his keys, but he still refused and was beaten and kicked mercilessly before they were taken from him.

Another group of convicts streamed into the armory where they hoped to find weapons and the whipping master, Edward Vanderlip. They were disappointed on both counts. Only one loaded pistol was found, while Vanderlip was being hidden in the tailor shop by Mike Brannigan, a Sacramento hack driver and convicted rapist.

Bursting through the outer gate with Chellis in tow, the convicts began shouting as they were joined by several hundred other prisoners who had streamed from the workshops and other buildings. "Freedom," they shouted while making their way toward the nearest guardpost. Chellis was compelled to call out for the guard to hold their fire or he would be killed. Guard Tom Watson carefully fired his six-pound cannon at the approaching mob, aiming for the rear ranks and away from the vicinity of the warden. He was quickly overwhelmed and both he and his cannon were hurled over an embankment. Prodding Chellis before them with crude knives, the convicts headed for the hills as a trusty named Miller rode to give the alarm in nearby San Rafael.

A dozen convicts took advantage of the turmoil to rush to the brickyard wharf and seize the sloop, *Pike County*. They cut the lines and pushed off, but it was low tide and the craft hung up on a mud bank. As frantic efforts were made to free the boat, guards opened fire and several convicts toppled into the shallow water. The others quickly surrendered.

At the Brevier farmhouse the main body of convicts demanded bread and milk, then took a horse for Chellis to ride. He refused to do so, however, and the fugitives moved on. Meanwhile, some of the guards had rallied and approached on horseback, picking off several convicts in the rear ranks.

Pressing on to the Ross ranch, about four miles from the prison, the convicts and their hostage had no sooner crossed through a muddy slough when Chellis collapsed and refused to go farther. Abandoning him, the convicts moved on, only to be confronted by a mounted sheriff's posse from San Rafael. With guards now rapidly closing in on their rear and the posse confronting them, the convicts quickly scattered and were shot or run down and captured. By eight o'clock that evening, a long line of dejected prisoners was walking toward the prison. A muster call in the yard indicated some thirty-three fugitives were still missing.

Author's Collection

Charles Mortimer was in San Quentin during the Chellis break of 1862 and wrote of it in his autobiography. He was hanged in 1873 for a Sacramento murder.

News of the break quickly reached San Francisco, and Governor Stanford ordered out a detachment of Presidio troops to the scene. San Francisco Police Chief Martin Burke, along with Detective Captain Isaiah Lees and a contingent of police officers, reporters, and others, went along with the troops aboard the steamer *Clinton*. By the time they tied up at the prison wharf, however, the outbreak had been quelled.

"I saw the whole thing from a front window," noted convict Charles Mortimer. "I did not join in the escapade because I was a short timer; besides, in going from the store to the gate I would have been a fair mark for half a dozen guards....For the next two weeks the groans and cries of the wounded and dying could be heard day and night."

Casualties were truly appalling. Four convicts had been killed outright, while three others died later. Thirty-two wounded filled the prison's small hospital.

Many of the undermanned guard staff had fled at the first sign of a break and resigned later as the convicts hooted and called them names. Chellis, too, took his lumps in the press. The San Francisco *Herald & Mirror* reported that Lieutenant Governor Chellis "gives a military reason for his ordering the guards not to fire, as he says that his base of operations was threatened, his rear in danger of being cut off, and he was compelled to resort to exterior strategy to rescue himself from the painful difficulties of his position."

In any case, an era had come to an end. The San Quentin convicts began wearing their famous striped clothes in 1865, making further problems for escaped prisoners.

Although there would be many individual escape attempts in the years to come, the last of the big San Quentin prison breaks was history.

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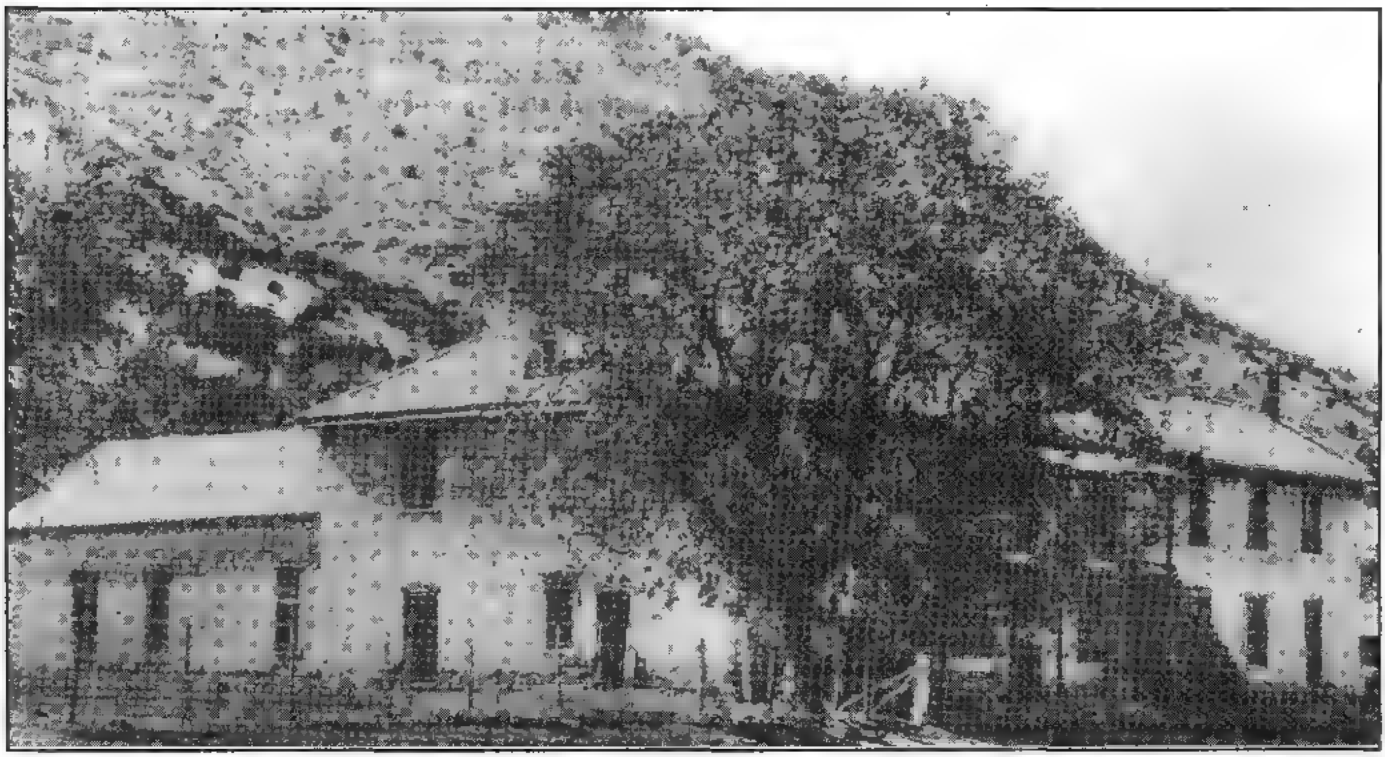
DOUBLE HANGING IN LINCOLN

By Barbara Tucker Peterson • Illustrated by Michael Nunnally

Robert Casey wasn't expecting anything unusual as he walked down the main street in Lincoln, New Mexico. It was August 1, 1875. He had merely ridden in to Lincoln from his ranch and mill on the Rio Hondo to attend a political convention. It was time to choose the new candidates for the next election. The morning session had been stormy, ending amid shouts and threats from both sides. Politics as usual in Lincoln.

After the session adjourned, Casey crossed the street to eat lunch at the Wortley Hotel with his clerk, Edmond Welch. He invited William Wilson, a drifter who had until recently been his employee, to join them. The three men split up after Casey paid the bill. He headed down the street to the Murphy store, not knowing that Wilson was hiding just east of the big store with a Winchester. When Casey was within twenty paces, Wilson stepped from his hiding place and shot him in the hip. Casey tried to escape by running around to the back of a nearby vacant house, but Wilson dodged around the other corner. When they met in the backyard, he shot Casey point blank in the face.

The shooting instantly drew a crowd. The murderer was quickly apprehended. As a correspondent to the Santa Fe *New Mexican* reported, Wilson "turned his back to a house and kept the crowd at bay,"



University of Oklahoma, Western History Collection

"The Big House," built by L.G. Murphy to serve as a store and Masonic hall, eventually became Lincoln County's courthouse.

surrendering only after Sheriff Saturnino Baca had sworn in ten new deputies to protect him. Another witness, in a scathing retort to the paper, called the claim "poppycock," and said Lincoln's citizens would never tolerate a lynching. "That Wilson was in any danger unless being hugged to death by his friends those that know won't believe," he wrote. Whatever the case, Wilson was whisked away to the guardhouse at Fort Stanton for safekeeping until his trial.

While Wilson was hauled off to jail, Casey's friends carried him to a nearby house. Carlos Carvallo, the post surgeon at Fort Stanton, tried to help the wounded man, but his injuries were too severe. He died the next day. Casey's widow, unaware of the rumors already spreading through town, asked Lawrence Murphy to conduct the funeral service. Murphy had purportedly studied for the priesthood as a young man.

With the murderer safe in custody, people began to speculate about the motive for the crime. Wilson steadfastly maintained that he had killed his employer because Casey tried to cheat him out of eight dollars in back wages. Susan McSween, who never hid her dislike for the Casey family, later corroborated this, stating that "Casey hired men to work for him until he owed them a big bill, then he would run him [sic] off with a gun...."

THE CASEY FAMILY AND THEIR FRIENDS BELIEVED WILSON HAD A MORE SINISTER MOTIVE FOR THE KILLING.

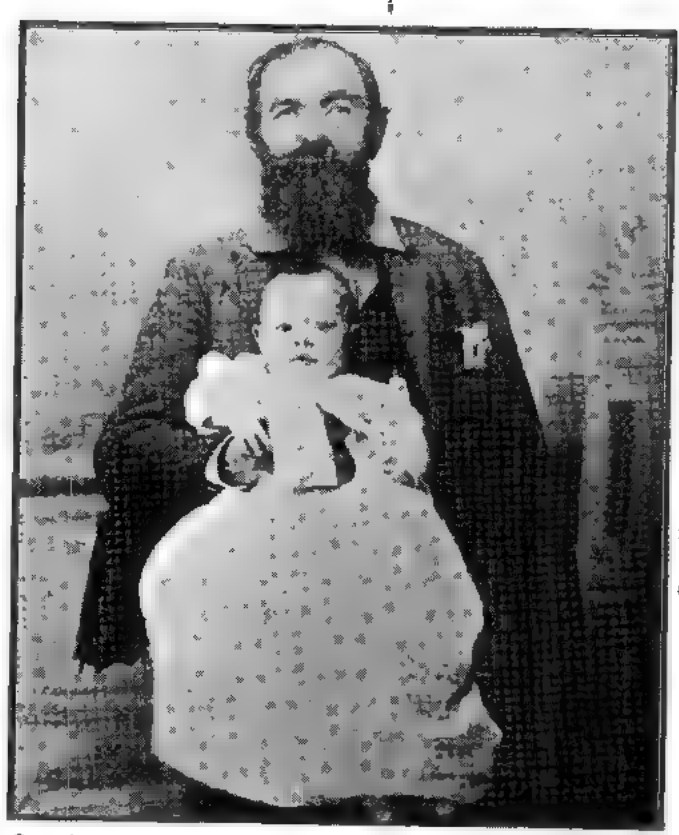
The Casey family and their friends believed Wilson had a more sinister motive for the killing. Lawrence Murphy and James Dolan were partners in L.G. Murphy and Co., a mercantile firm that wielded crushing economic power in Lincoln County. At the recent political convention, they sought to extend their influence by nominating candidates who were sympathetic to their goal. Robert Casey stood in their way. As a leader of a group of citizens standing against Murphy and his allies, he openly criticized them in a fiery speech that infuriated Murphy and Dolan—dangerous men to cross. The Murphy faction was defeated by a large majority. In retaliation, it was rumored that Murphy and Dolan offered Wilson $500 to kill Casey, along with the promise to use their influence in the county to free him if he were arrested.

Wilson's case went before the grand jury during the October session, with William Brady as foreman. On October 11, they handed down an indictment for murder. Charles Myrick, the manager of the Wortley Hotel, was also indicted as an accessory to murder, but he had

left the county by this time. His role in the killing remains a mystery. Court records offer few clues. The indictment merely states that, on August 1, 1875, Myrick did "maliciously incite, move, procure, aid, hire, counsel and command" Wilson to commit the murder. Casey's son, Robert, claimed Myrick was holding an escape horse for Wilson, but lost his nerve and rode away on it. Lawrence Murphy himself gave his deposition about Myrick's disappearance, raising more questions about his involvement in the murder. He swore he had no knowledge of Myrick's whereabouts, but friends had informed him by letter that he was at the Pinal mines in Arizona. The court records also show Myrick was indicted on a charge of larceny, for stealing a rifle valued at about fifty dollars from Joseph Harvard. Myrick never returned to Lincoln, the arrest warrant could never be served, and the indictment was eventually dismissed.

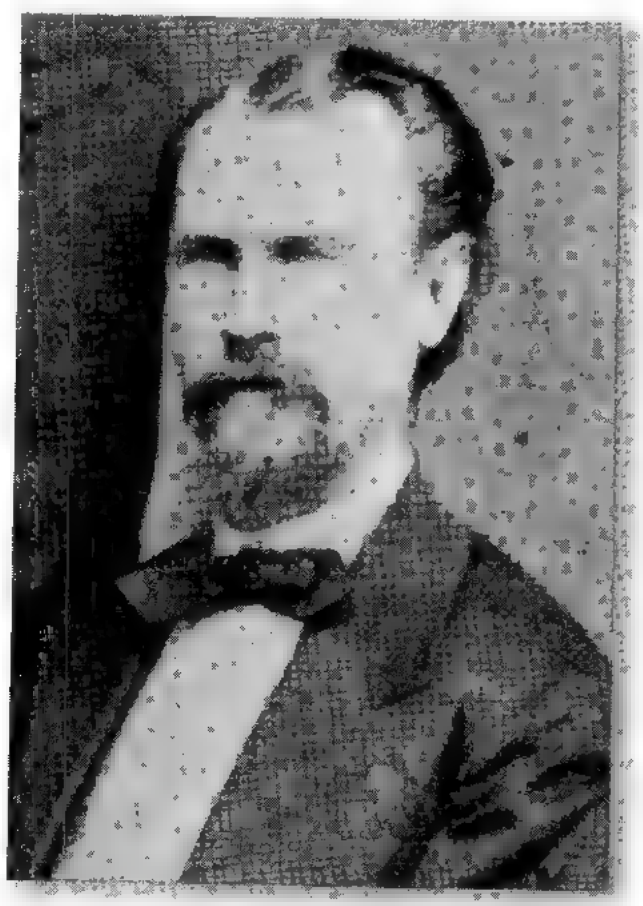
Wilson's trial commenced on October 15. He was defended by two powerhouse attorneys, William Rynerson and S.B. Newcomb. District Attorney John D. Bail and Colonel Albert J. Fountain handled the prosecution. The trial lasted a mere three days. Despite strong representation, the jury found Wilson guilty after deliberating only fifteen minutes. Judge Warren Bristol sentenced him to death and set the execution date for November 11.

As the execution date approached people wondered if Wilson would be rescued by his friends or suffer lynch mob justice at the hands of Casey's supporters. His attorneys asked Governor Samuel Axtell for a stay of execution, delaying the hanging for only a month. On Friday, December 10, citizens from around the county flocked to Lincoln to witness the hanging. Carpenters worked through the early morning hours to erect a gallows in front of the courthouse. At eleven o'clock, the prisoner was brought to Lincoln in an ambulance, surrounded by the Eighth United States Cavalry. They stopped at Sheriff Baca's house, where Wilson changed into his burial suit, purchased for him by L.G. Murphy. His escort then took him to the gallows. A large crowd had gathered and four soldiers dismounted to keep the people back. An onlooker described Wilson as appearing "calm and collected" as he shook hands with some friends in the crowd. He mounted the scaffold where Sheriff Baca, Father Lamy



Robert Mullin Collection, Nita Stewart Haley Memorial Library, Midland, Texas.

Saturino Baca, acting as sheriff, was assigned to protect William Wilson during his trial for the murder of Robert Casey.



Western Publications Archives

L.G. Murphy was suspected of bankrolling the murder of Robert Casey.

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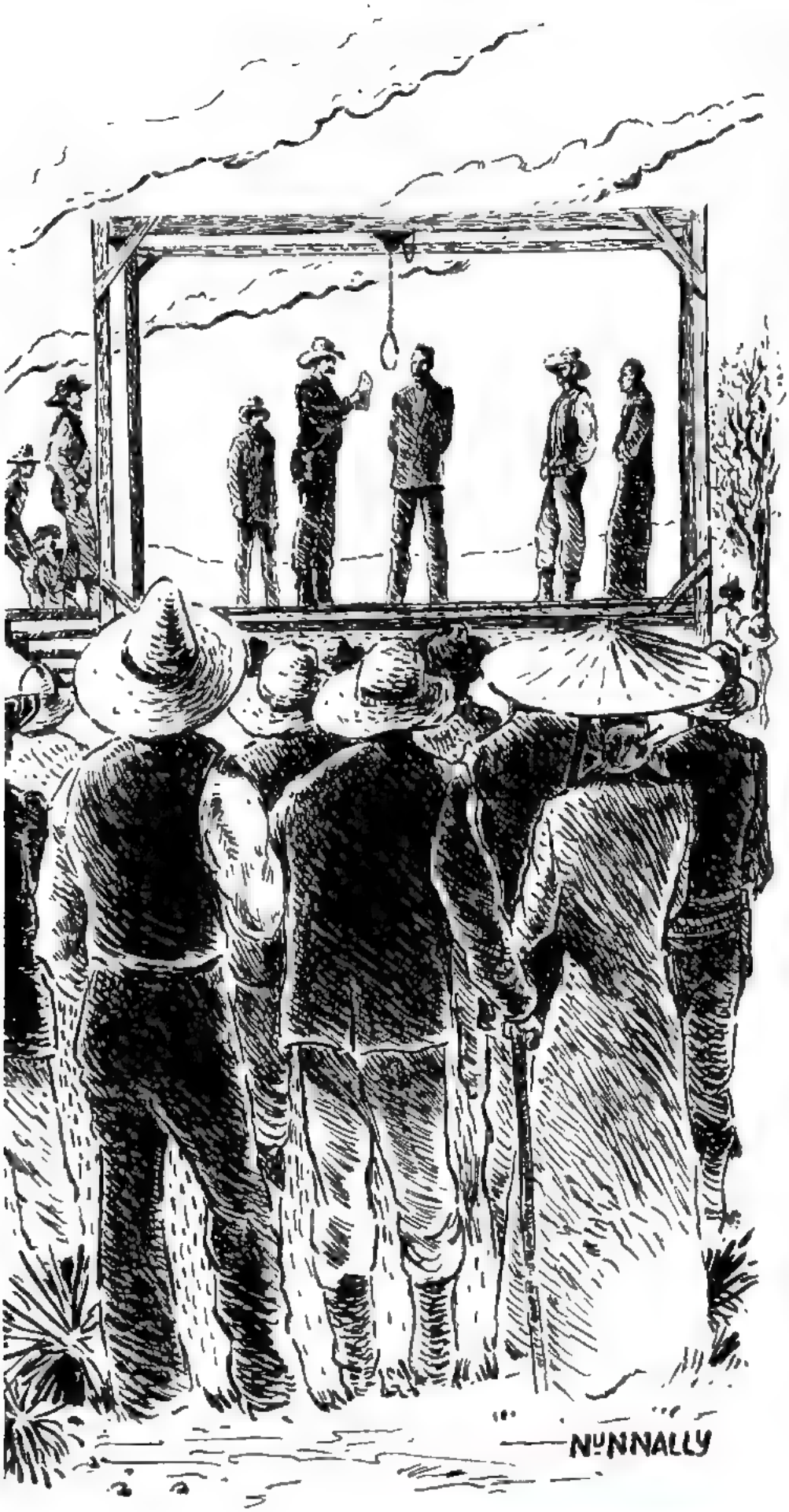


of Manzano and, for some unknown reason, L.G. Murphy were waiting. The sheriff read the death warrant in English and Spanish. Father Lamy gave Wilson the last rites. The sheriff then inexplicably decided to postpone the hanging for thirty minutes, but the angry mob forced him to continue with the execution immediately.

Wilson was allowed to make a final statement. According to Lily Casey, the murdered man's daughter, Wilson turned to Murphy and bitterly remarked, "Major, you know you are the cause of this. You promised to save me, but...." At this point, Murphy kicked the lever that triggered the trapdoor, and Wilson dropped through. He never finished his last words.

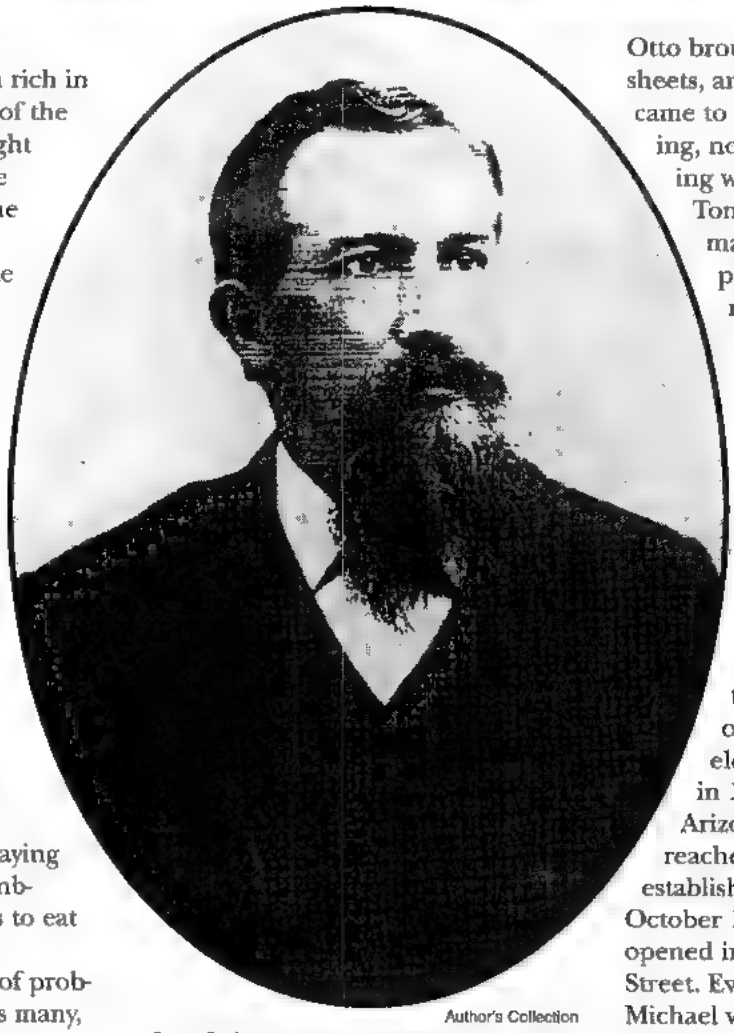
After nine and a half minutes, the body was cut down and placed in a coffin, but Wilson's ordeal was far from over. A curious Mexican woman lifted the coffin lid. She screamed, "For God's sake! The dead has come to life." The onlookers hurriedly examined the body, and found Wilson was still breathing. Murphy, in a move that was seen by some as more proof of a conspiracy, protested that the sentence had been carried out, that Wilson had been legally hung and could not be executed twice. The crowd ignored Murphy's arguments. Some men tied a rope around Wilson's neck, drug his body from the coffin, and strung him up again—this time for twenty minutes. As Alexander McSween laconically described it, "Wilson was *well* hung—pronounced dead—showed signs of life in the coffin—was hung up to second time *con mucho gusto* until *really* dead."

Legal executions in New Mexico Territory have been recorded as early as 1849. William Wilson's hanging, however, was the first legal execution in Lincoln County since its creation in 1869. Robert Casey's murder was just another example of the violence that was engulfing Lincoln, an opening volley in the bloody Lincoln County War.

The Sweeter Side of Tombstone

There is no denying Tombstone is a town rich in history, and the site of the most remembered street fight that took place between the Earps, Doc Holliday, and the cowboys. However, as you look beyond the fateful date of October 26, 1881, you begin to see that Tombstone was also a bustling 1880s mining boom town, where thousands lived, worked, and played. Because of the gunfight, and problems with lot jumpers and mining claims, Tombstone is often thought of as a violent mining town in the Arizona desert. It even received an inaccurate, harsh old saying of, "Tombstone had a man for breakfast every day." That saying should be replaced by "Tombstone had wonderful things to eat for breakfast every day."

Despite having its share of problems, Tombstone offered its many, fortune-seeking visitors and residents, first-class saloons, upscale restaurants, theaters, doctors, churches, bakeries, ice cream parlors, and more. As hundreds arrived in Tombstone in search of silver mining wealth, one man came to make his fortune another way.



Author's Collection

Otto Geisenhofer established the first bakery in Tombstone, Arizona, in 1879.

Otto William Geisenhofer, a twenty-two-year-old Bavarian baker went to Tombstone, but he did not carry the tools of the mining trade. Instead of a pick, pan, and shovel, Otto brought cake pans, cookie sheets, and mixing bowls. Otto came to Tombstone to make his living, not by mining, but by creating wonderful things for Tombstonians to eat. Like many of Tombstone's other pioneers, Otto followed the mining boom trail from California and other Arizona towns before arriving in Tombstone.

He first came to the United States in 1872 with his family for a visit. However, when they returned to Germany in 1875, sixteen-year-old Otto opted to stay, saying, "America is the country of the future." He and his older brother Michael traveled to Los Angeles County in 1877, and returned to Arizona in 1878. They finally reached Tombstone in 1879 and established its first bakery. By October 1879, the City Bakery was opened in a tent at 529 Allen Street. Even though both Otto and Michael were associated with the bakery, Michael's name never appeared in its advertisements or on any of the property records. The brothers' bakery supplied a variety of wonderfully fresh baked goods, including piping hot rolls, crusty rye bread, graham bread, fruit pies, and candies to Tombstone's resi-

By Sherry Monahan

NEW YORK
Bakery, Restaurant & Coffee House.
415 ALLEN STREET, TOMBSTONE.
First-Class Meals at 25 cents and upwards. Bread, Pies and Cakes always on Hand. Parties supplied with Fine Pastry on short notice and at Reasonable Prices.
J. CAESAR, Proprietor.

Author's Collection

The New York Bakery offered patrons "first class meals and breads, cakes, and pies."

dents. Imagine walking into the store to purchase a freshly baked loaf of bread, Victorian tea cookies, or a frosted cake. The brothers not only sold their delicious baked goods to the general public, but they also sold to the mining camps that dotted the hills just outside Tombstone's city limits. In addition, they supplied Tombstone's hotels, including the Cosmopolitan, Brown's, and the Grand, with their tasty treats.

Otto and Michael were not the only Bavarian bakers in Tombstone for very long, and just a few short months after they opened the City Bakery, Joseph Stumpf opened his bakery. He not only arrived in Tombstone with his tools of the trade, but he also brought his family as well. Joseph, his wife, Flora, and their three children, Joseph, Jr., Emma, and Franco, now called Tombstone home. He opened the American Bakery on April 15, 1880, at 215 Fifth Street. Joseph, like the Geisenhofer brothers, offered his patrons freshly baked breads, a variety of pies, and assorted cakes.

Even though the Geisenhofer brothers and Joseph Stumpf may have enjoyed a little friendly competition, it is unlikely either of them suffered from lack of business, simply because of the camp's growing population. Many of Tombstone's citizens enjoyed a variety of fresh baked goods from these two establishments during Tombstone's peak years.

Bakeries were not the only "sweet" places in town. There were also ice cream parlors and confectioneries. Can you imagine Ike Clanton, John Ringo, or Wyatt Earp being asked, "What flavor would you like? or "How many scoops do you want?" Well, you could if you lived in Tombstone. In fact, Wyatt was known to frequent a little ice cream parlor on Fourth Street during his Tombstone residency. The fact that the town had such businesses may have indicated the level of confidence its residents had. Who would even think of opening an ice cream parlor in a one-horse town, with no future? More to the point, who would spend what little money they had on ice cream?

Since Tombstone was far from a one-horse town, its residents chose from a variety of sweet shops and tempting goodies. One of its first ice cream and confectionery shops opened in June 1880. The confectionery was run by Davis and Holbrook, whose store was located on Fourth Street, between Allen and Fremont. They offered all kinds of candy, confections, ice cream, and soda water to their customers.

Davis and Holbrook's store was soon joined by two other shops that opened in mid-1881. The first was Banning & Shaw's Ice Cream Saloon located on Fourth Street. It offered ice cold soda water, fresh home made candy, and ice cream. Another ice cream dispensary, called the Crystal Palace Ice Cream Saloon, was opened at the corner of Fourth and Allen streets. The Crystal Palace offered French luncheS; choice wines, light summer refreshments, and of course, ice cream. This ice cream saloon was in no way connected to the beer and liquor saloon of the same name. The Crystal Palace Saloon did not operate under that name until 1882 and would have been a block away from the ice cream shop. Mrs. A.G. Davis also opened an ice cream store on Fremont Street. Her place was described as an "elegant little bijou" where many ladies, and their escorts chose to eat ice cream. Miss Johanna Leary was the proprietress of a bakery and refreshment shop, and Mrs. Florence Hemsath owned the Bon Ton Restaurant and Ice Cream Saloon. Both of these newer businesses were located on Fremont Street.

One street over, patrons sipped coffee and ate pastries at Tombstone's newest bakery and restaurant. Earlier in 1882, Julius Caesar, a thirty-eight-year-old native of Hanover, Germany, opened the New York Bakery, Restaurant and Coffee House. Julius advertised first-

class meals, and fresh baked goods could always be procured at the New York Bakery, located at 415 Allen Street. He also prepared pastries for Tombstone's many parties and social functions. In addition to regular business from his shop, Caesar supplemented his income by preparing meals for Tombstone's prisoners. At the end of each month, he submitted a bill to the city marshal or city council for reimbursement.

Fortunately for Isaac "Little Jakey" Jacobs there were many "sweet" places in Tombstone. It seems Jakey had a sweetheart who he showered liberally with gifts of bonbons, candies, fruit, and cake. Even though Little Jakey made frequent trips to the bakeries and confectioneries, the goodies he purchased were apparently not enough to keep his girl true to him. One day he called on her, and much to his surprise, found her sharing his latest installment of treats with his hated rival! Understandably, he was upset, and was quoted in the *Tombstone Daily Nugget* as saying, "It's not fair. A fellow can make love to another man's girl, but it ain't right to eat all the goods things he gives her." The *Nugget* concurred with Jakey's statement.

Ladies of the various churches in Tombstone knew how to use sweet things in town for their benefit. Throughout the years, they held ice cream socials, New England lunches, strawberry festivals, and cake auctions to raise money for their parsonage. By doing this, the ladies of the Methodist, Presbyterian, and Episcopalian churches raised large sums of money for their respective places of worship throughout Tombstone's boom years.

On one occasion, leftover cakes from an earlier auction were offered at a second auction and were sold to the highest bidder. George W. Atkins was a thirty-five-year-old miner who lived in Tombstone, and was smitten with a young lady in town. George had his eye on one particular cake for his sweetheart, and said he intended to buy it for her, even if it cost him $25! The cake George wanted was frosted and decorated with a one-legged cupid.

Tombstone's mayor, John Clum, was also present at the bidding, and knowing that George wanted this cake, saw an opportunity to increase the church's profits. The auctioneer lifted the cake and asked, "How much am I bid for this cake?" The mayor responded with a bid of five dollars, to which the auctioneer said, "What! only $5 for this elegant cake, with tulle fringe around the edge and frost a la Pompadour on its head?" To this comment, George bid seven, then the mayor bid nine. The auctioneer was still not satisfied with a last bid, and said, "This cake has a cupid on it; true it only has one eye, and the other looks like a ten-cent adobe, but love is said to be blind. I'll admit it only has one leg, but Cupid flies and doesn't walk." George was still set on purchasing this amorously decorated cake for his sweetheart, so in a whispering tone, he bid ten dollars. The auctioneer asked for a bid of twelve, which the mayor gladly offered. The auctioneer ended the bidding by saying, "The mayor takes the cake." George sadly left the auction without his Cupid cake, and Clum left, failing to see the humor in the auctioneer's final comment.

Tombstone's first baker, Otto Geisenhofer, became very successful selling cakes and was able to purchase a lot near the corner of Eighth and Allen streets that cost $400. The lot was added to his already growing collection of real estate that included three pieces of property on First Street. Otto also

FRANK YAPLE,
Manufacturing Confectioner
76 Fifth Street, Tombstone, Arizona.
THE FINEST LINE OF CANDIES IN THE TERRITORY.
ICE CREAM AND TOYS IN THIER SEASON.

Author's Collection

Tombstone confectioner Frank Yaple offered Tombstone residents "ice cream and toys in thier [sic] season."

Tombstone's mayor, John Clum, was also present at the bidding, and knowing that George wanted this cake, saw an opportunity to increase the church's profits.

expanded his bakery to a restaurant in 1882. Now patrons could go to the City Bakery and Restaurant to order their favorite meal or baked goods. It seems Otto's "American" dream was coming true.

By 1883, residents had a variety of tempting shops to visit. For fresh baked goods or ice cream they may have chosen the French Bakery at 628 Fremont Street or Langpaap's bakery at 515 Fremont Street. The Eclipse Bakery, located in Bauer's new block on Fourth Street, was another aromatic place to make purchases. It was owned by James M. Nash. L.H. Nash was the bakery's driver, delivering daily fresh goods. The Eclipse offered fine quality breads, cakes, pies, and confections. Nash also announced he would be the first to introduce Arizona to the "celebrated" German milk bread. His bakery also contained an elegantly decorated ice cream saloon.

People leaving the Tombstone post office could be lured into Frank Yaple's tempting ice cream parlor, which was right next door. Customers could stop in and sample some of his ice cream or freshly made candy. He even advertised, "Ice cream and toys in thier [sic] season."

In 1885, the New York Restaurant, Bakery and Coffee House closed when its owners, Julius and Sophie Caesar, purchased a one-half interest in the Crystal Palace Saloon for $2,500. Ben Wehrfritz had been the sole owner of the Crystal Palace since his former partner, Sigfried Tribolet, left to start his own brewery. When their partnership dissolved in 1882, Sigfried took the Golden Eagle Brewery name with him. Ben's brewery then became the Crystal Palace. With their investment, Julius and Sophie Caesar were now part owners of the Crystal Palace Saloon and were out of the restaurant business.

The ladies of the church were unrivaled in their fund-raising causes. So much so, they even proceeded with a strawberry festival in 1887, despite a minor earthquake. Tombstone's residents, and buildings alike were shaken by an earthquake in early May of that year.

Other than a few cracked walls, however, Tombstone was barely affected by the sudden quake. The ladies' strawberry festival was considered to be a grand success, both financially and socially. A Tombstone *Prospector* reporter stated, "The doors were open early in the evening, people kept coming and going and kept the ladies who had charge very busy. The ice cream, strawberries and cake, was all that the most fastidious could desire."

Despite many successful years in Tombstone, some of the early pioneers may have sensed the end was near. In 1887, Otto Geisenhofer, Tombstone's first baker, was also operating a restaurant in Bisbee called the Waldorf. In addition, he maintained a bakery in San Leandro, California. Frank Yaple was heading out for a new mining camp, and if all went well, was going to open a hotel there. Davis and Holbrook were gone, as were Banning and Shaw, and Mrs. A.C. Davis.

By 1889, Tombstone was faltering, and its remaining businesses were indicative of a declining town. The carefree, frivolous days were gone, and basic necessities were the mainstay. This was seen in the number of ice cream and confectionery stores that had reached a peak of six in 1882. Tombstone now had half that many, including a bakery run by W.D. Coleman, Otto Geisenhofer's restaurant and bakery, and Frank Yaple's ice cream and confectionery store.

During its peak years, Tombstone's talented business pioneers offered miners, cowboys, gamblers, and townsfolk some of the most elegant sweets a person could desire. Without people such as Otto Geisenhofer, Joseph Stumpf, Mrs. A.C. Davis, Frank Yaple, and Julius Caesar, Tombstone may have not been so sweet.

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TRUE WEST LEGENDS:

WILLIAM P. "BILL" LONGLEY

By Rick Miller

October 6, 1851—William Preston Longley is born in Austin County, Texas, the sixth child of Texas Revolution veteran Campbell Longley and his wife, Sarah. The Longley family moved to what later became Lee County where young Bill worked on the family farm at Evergreen and attended school. An older brother was lost in the Civil War, and Bill was coming of age as the bitter Reconstruction era enveloped an unprepared state.

December 20, 1868—In company with friends Johnson McKeown and Jim Gilmore, Longley chases down three former slaves passing through Evergreen, one of them mounted on a splendid horse that the three whites coveted. After the three black men are taken prisoner, one of them, Green Evans, makes a break for it and is shot off the horse by one of the three whites. Longley later claimed that all three of the men fired. This leads to Bill Longley leaving Lee County, allegedly working as a cowboy in Karnes County. He claimed that he killed one of a group of soldiers who were chasing him in DeWitt County, although there is no record of such an episode. He also said that he rode with terrorist Cullen Baker in northeast Texas, even surviving a hanging there, but this is also not likely.

March 1, 1870—A $1,000 reward is offered by the Fifth Military District occupying Texas for the capture, dead or alive, of Bill Longley and his brother-in-law, John Wilson, for murder and horse theft. There are reports that they killed an ex-slave named Paul Brice on February 2 in Bastrop County, and reportedly killed a black woman in 1870, although no account has been located. Longley later said that Wilson was killed in Brazos County in the spring of 1870. Longley leaves Texas, later claiming that he killed a cattleman named Rector while on a trail drive, fought off attacking Indians, killed a horse thief named McClelland near Abilene, Kansas, and shot a soldier to death at Leavenworth, Kansas, for insulting Texas women. No accounts of these claims can be located.

June 22, 1870—Stranded in the Black Hills of Wyoming when a group of gold prospectors disbands, Longley enlists in Company B of the Second Cavalry Regiment at Camp Stambaugh, located on the Continental Divide near South Pass and Atlantic City. Two weeks later, he and John Miller desert, but are captured. Longley is court-martialed and receives a sentence of two years' confinement at hard labor, wearing a twenty-four-pound ball and chain. With a harsh winter and some sympathy for him by the company commander, Longley is released back to his unit on December 6, 1870. He would be remembered as a "low, boastful sort" who was a good shot. Longley would later claim that he was a civilian teamster who ran a saloon and killed the post quartermaster, but this also isn't true. He deserts again, this time for good, on June 8, 1872, later claiming that he joined Indians in warfare against the soldiers and then had a romantic interlude while recovering from wounds sustained in running from Mexican bandits, all quite fanciful. He later boasted of having killed a young man during a card game at Parkerville, Kansas, which also likely did not happen.

July 1, 1873—Longley is spotted carrying a pistol in Bell County, Texas, where he is staying with his parents at their farm. Reportedly, he and other men had killed a black man in Brown County, Texas, on February 2, 1873. (Longley was indicted the following September for carrying the pistol, but was never arrested for the offense as he had already left the county).

July 16, 1873—Longley is arrested with others near Kerrville, Texas, by Mason County Sheriff J.J. Finney, suspected of being part of the notorious gang of horse thieves led by Frank Eastwood. Vigilantes are on the rampage in Kerr County and a number of suspects are shot or lynched. Longley is taken to Fredericksburg, then to Austin where the sheriff tries to claim the reward. Finding there is no state reward for Longley, the outlaw is released. Longley claimed several other killings after this, including a Mexican who tried to cheat him in a horse trade and a black man involved in a fight with a white man, as well as wounding a gambler named Dave Clark.

Christmas 1874—Longley and his sixteen-year-old brother, Jim, leave the family farm in Bell County and meander back to Lee County, where they stay with their uncle, Caleb Longley. Their cousin, "Little Cale" Longley, had died in a horse fall, and Caleb blames one of Bill's boyhood friends, Wilson Anderson, for the death. Caleb urges Bill to kill Anderson, while Jim advises restraint.

March 31, 1875—Longley shotguns Wilson Anderson to death while Anderson is plowing a field. Longley and his brother ride off, going north into Indian Territory before turning around and returning to Bell County. Both brothers are indicted for the murder in Lee County on May 10, 1875, and Texas Governor Richard Coke offers a $175 reward for each of them.

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True West Legends:

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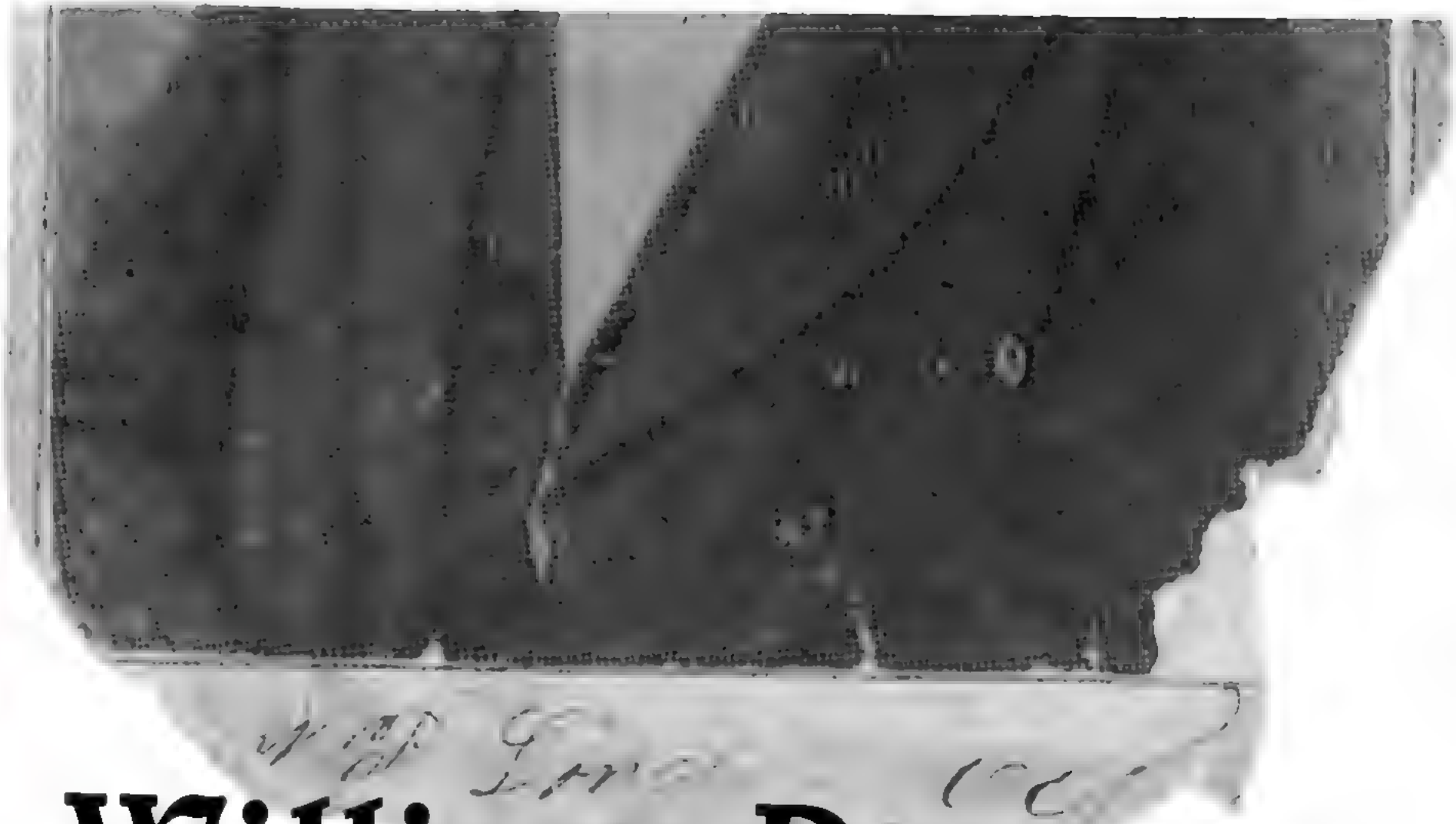

William Preston "Bill" Longley

Photo Courtesy Robert McCubbin

August 1875—Jim Longley is taken into custody and the reward for Bill is increased to $250. On May 26, 1876, after a jury trial in Fayette County, Texas, Jim Longley is acquitted of the murder of Anderson.

November 13, 1875—During the course of a drunken fox hunt north of Waco, in McLennan County, Longley, using the name "Jim Patterson," guns down young George Thomas. In addition to the murder, he is indicted for another assault and an unrelated robbery. Longley later claimed that during his flight from justice, he killed a Mexican for stealing his horse near San Antonio.

January 10, 1876—Under the alias of "Jim Webb," Longley shows up in the Dry Frio Canyon area of Uvalde County, Texas. A local tough man, Lou Shrover, figures out who "Webb" is and tries to set him up for the reward. Longley, in turn, gets himself deputized as a constable and tries to arrest Shrover. This leads to a running gun battle in which Shrover is killed. Longley said that he then went to Castroville, where he was paid to break a man out of the Medina County jail.

June 13, 1876—Longley shows up in the small east Texas community of Ben Franklin in Delta County, where he falls in love with sixteen-year-old Rachel Lavinia Jack. Calling himself "William Black," he takes a job with the Reverend William Roland Lay as a sharecropper, but Longley claims that the Lay family is siding with a competitor for the heart of "Miss Louvenia" and treating him rather shabbily. After Lay allegedly swore out a complaint against Longley and had him jailed, Longley breaks out of jail and shotguns Lay to death while the farmer-preacher is milking a cow. Longley again flees, later claiming an interlude with a half-blood Indian girl. He also claimed to have rescued the Sanders brothers from a Grayson County deputy sheriff; this time, it is a matter of record that Longley and the Sanders brothers relieved a Milam County deputy of his pistol.

June 6, 1877—Longley is farming under the name of "Bill Jackson" in DeSoto Parish, Louisiana, and has become good friends with local constable June Courtney. Courtney becomes suspicious of this stranger, and with [illegible] Nacogdoches, Texas, Sheriff Milt Mast and Mast's deputy, Bill Burrows, they arrest Longley while he is plowing. Without benefit of extradition, Longley is whisked to Lee County, Texas, to stand trial for the murder of Wilson Anderson. While in the Lee County jail, Longley boasts of having killed thirty-two men and of being "the most successful outlaw that ever lived in Texas." The notorious John Wesley Hardin is captured in Florida in August 1877 and returned to Texas, becoming a rival in the headlines, although the two men never meet.

September 4, 1877—Encumbered with an inexperienced defense attorney against an experienced prosecutor, and after a two-day trial, Longley is found guilty of murder and sentenced to hang. He is put out because Hardin was only sentenced to twenty-five years' incarceration. Pending his appeal, Longley is transferred for safekeeping to the Galveston County jail. He tries several unsuccessful escape attempts and is converted to the Catholic faith. Longley becomes a prolific letter writer, believing that he will not hang and even trying to enlist his brother, Jim, in an escape plot.

March 13, 1878—The Texas Court of Appeals affirms Longley's conviction, describing him as "one of the most noted malefactors of the state, whose imputed exploits have contributed largely to the most sanguinary chapters of her annals." Longley is transferred back to Lee County to await an execution date.

October 11, 1878—Before a crowd of thousands in Giddings, Texas, Longley mounts a rickety gallows sporting a new suit with a blue rosette in the lapel, as well as a slouch hat. He addresses the crowd, then calmly allows Sheriff Jim Brown to adjust the cap and noose. When the trap is sprung, the noose slips on the crossbeam and Longley hits the ground standing. Brown and a deputy haul up on the rope, and Longley slowly strangles to death. The body is then buried just outside the dedicated portion of the Giddings cemetery.

July 11, 1998—After several years of searching, the remains of a man believed to be Bill Longley are located in the Giddings, Texas, cemetery. (For further reading on the excavation, see the author's article, "Footnotes: Looking for Bill Longley," *True West*, February 1999.)

WHAT TO READ:

Bloody Bill Longley, by Rick Miller
Hennington Publishing Company, 1996

Wild Bill Longley, A Texas Hard Case, by Ed Bartholomew
Frontier Press, 1953

Cullen Montgomery Baker, Reconstruction Desperado, by Barry A. Crouch and Donaly E. Brice
Louisiana State University Press, 1997

WHERE TO GO:

Giddings, Texas, where Bill Longley was captured, tried, convicted, and hanged. He is buried at the western edge of the Giddings Cemetery, about one mile west of Giddings.

Lometa, Texas, where James Stockton "Jim" Longley, Bill's brother, died. Jim, his wife, Vic, and his father, Campbell, are all buried at the Lometa Odd Fellow Cemetery.

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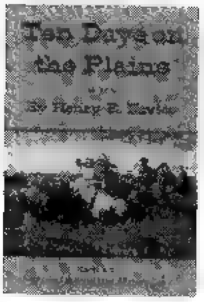

235—TEN DAYS ON THE PLAINS. *By Henry E. Davies; ed. by Paul Andrew Hutton.* Originally published in a limited edition in 1871, this well-illustrated and produced book is an account by Civil War General Henry Davies of a spectacular hunting expedition on the high western plains. Davies features a young scout, William F. "Buffalo Bill" Cody, as the central figure in the story of the expedition. 194p. Southern Methodist University Press.
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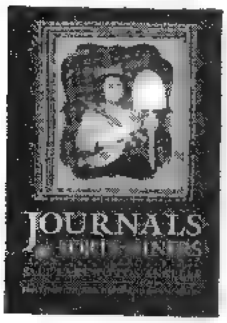

727—JOURNALS OF FORTY-NINERS: SALT LAKE TO LOS ANGELES. *Edited by LeRoy R. Hafen & Ann W. Hafen.* The Hafens have assembled a fascinating array of diaries and memoirs of forty-niners who set out from Salt Lake City toward California's goldfields over the Old Spanish Trail. For many would-be gold miners, this dry, dangerous trail was preferable to crossing the Sierra Nevada. In reality, the choice of the southern route did not ease travelers' efforts. The narratives herein provide fine descriptions of these challenges. "...a prized addition to our knowledge. ."—*American Historical Review.* 336p. University of Nebraska Press.
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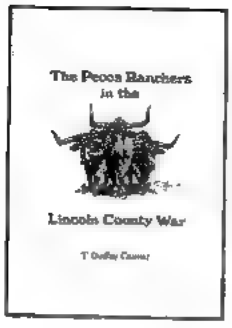

706—THE PECOS RANCHERS IN THE LINCOLN COUNTY WAR. *By T. Dudley Cramer.* Focusing on the Beckwith family, Cramer shares the story of the small ranchers from the Pecos Valley who played a prominent, often misinterpreted role in the Lincoln County War in New Mexico Territory. With rare exception these largely hard-working cattlemen and cowboys sided with the Murphy-Dolan-Riley partisans, believing strongly that the opposing forces of Tunstall-McSween and John Chisum were trying to oust them from the Pecos country. Cramer offers many rare, previously unpublished photos in this important history. 215p. Branding Iron Press.
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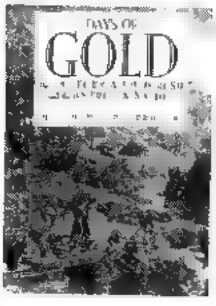
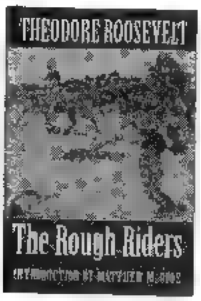


648—DAYS OF GOLD: THE CALIFORNIA GOLD RUSH AND THE AMERICAN NATION. *By Malcolm J. Rohrbough.* Described by the author as an "introduction" to the stampede for gold in California, this book provides far more than the usual historical introduction. Exhaustively researched and engagingly written, Rohrbough's *Days of Gold* explores the whys, whats, wheretos and wherefores of one of the most consequential sages in American history and in the development of the American nation. "Rohrbough tell the story straight from the mouths (or pens) of those who lived it."—*Christian Science Monitor.* 373p. University of California Press.
Paper, $16.95



730—THE ROUGH RIDERS. *By Theodore Roosevelt; introduction by Matthew M. Oyos. The Rough Riders,* published the year after the Spanish-American War—or in Roosevelt's words, "the splendid little war"—is Roosevelt's account of the mustering of the regiment, many of the troopers of which came from the American West, the perils endured, and the horseback charge up Kettle Hill during the battle for San Juan Heights. This reprint gathers eleven important photographs from earlier editions of the work and also contains two new maps and an index. 320p. University of Nebraska Press.
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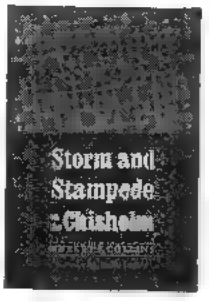

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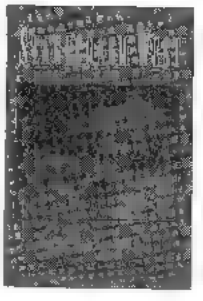

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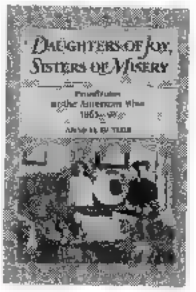

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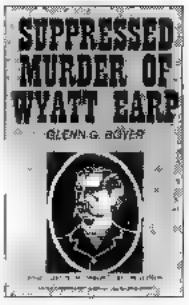

666—SUPPRESSED MURDER OF WYATT EARP. *By Glenn Boyer.* Out of print for many years, this book by widely recognized Earp biographer Glenn Boyer aroused much controversy. The author relied heavily on family letters, interviews, and other first-hand accounts to complete this biographical study of the famed western personality. 135p. Historical Research Associates.
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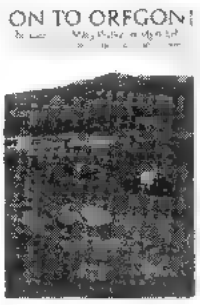

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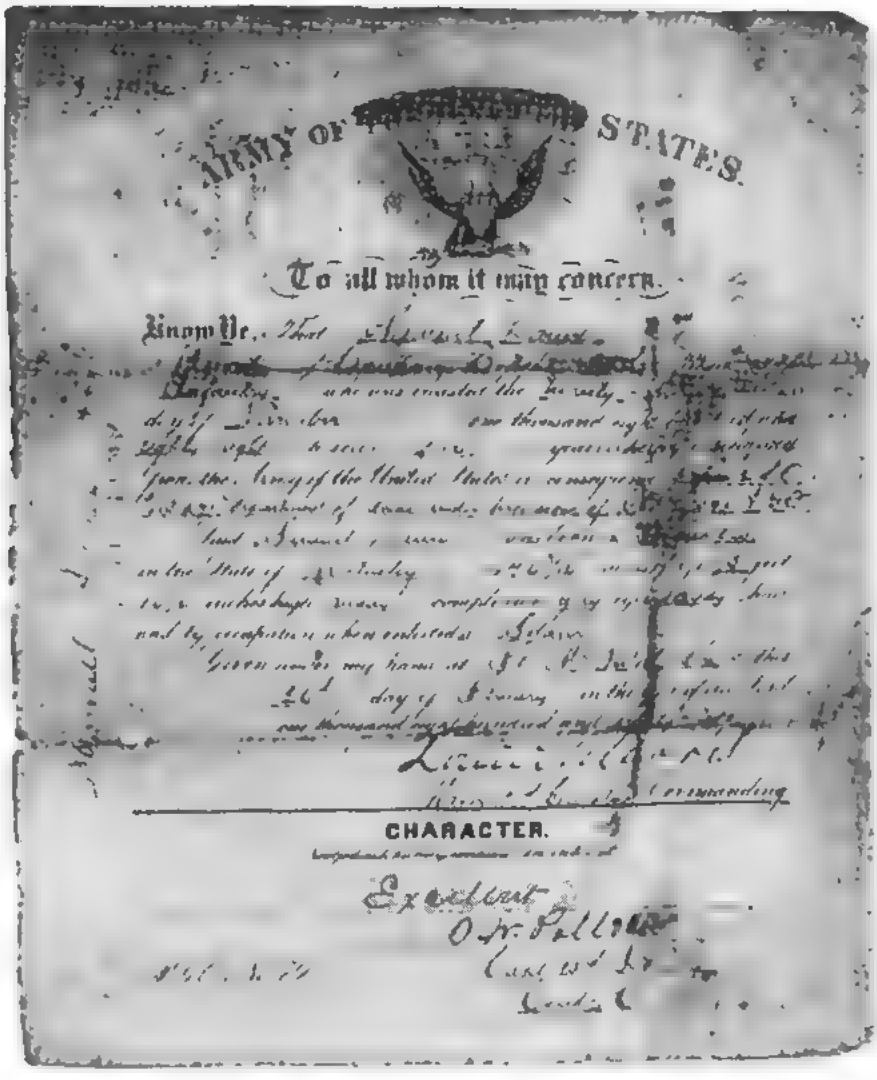

Author's Collection

This discharge certificate, an Indian Wars document, was issued at Fort McIntosh, Texas, in 1892. It was acquired when the personal effects of an elderly spinster were disposed of. Occasionally, discharge certificates are found with the "character" portion at the bottom cut off along the heavy black line. These are known as "bob-tails" or dishonorable discharges, and do not necessarily impair the value of the document.

Not long ago, I got two catalogues in the mail. One listed a Spencer repeating rifle. The other had an original North-Western Overland Mail Co. ticket, in mint condition with all the stubs intact, providing stagecoach transportation from Miles City, Montana, to Glendive, and by rail from Glendive to Chicago. I could afford one or the other, but not both. Paper, however, especially paper from the nineteenth century, is more prone to deterioration and loss. Therefore, I was less likely to see another intact, mint stagecoach-train ticket than another Spencer rifle. I opted for the ticket.

Collecting western paper—letters, diaries, stock certificates, books, maps, etc.—is a growing hobby as original paper becomes scarcer and more people become interested in the frontier. Much of it is already in libraries and archives, but good material remains on the market. In February 1998, sixty-one manuscript volumes of Mexican Inquisition records came

By Charles M. Robinson, III

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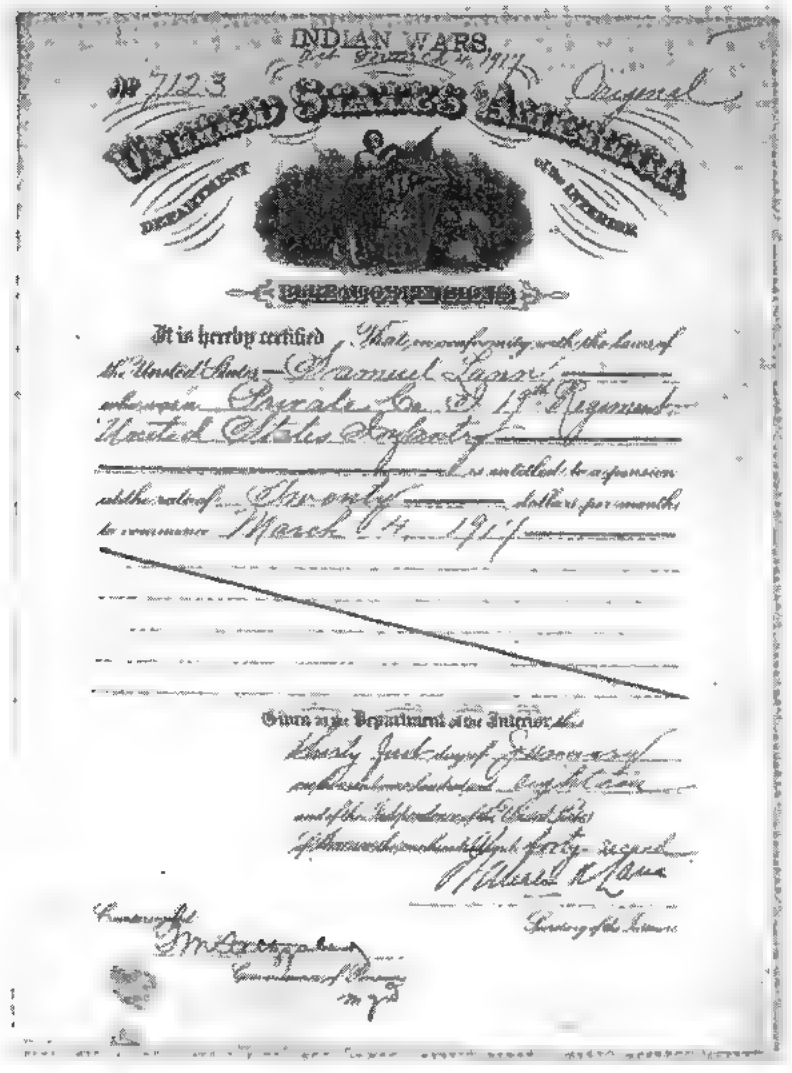
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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

It is hereby certified That, in conformity with the Laws of the United States, Samuel Lamar late a Private Co. D 17th Regiment United States Infantry is entitled to a pension at the rate of Twenty dollars per month to commence March 4, 1917

Given at the Department of the Interior the Fourth day of December A.D. 1917 and of the Independence of the United States the One Hundred and Forty-second

Author's Collection

A 1917 pension document, also an Indian Wars relic.

up for sale at the California International Antiquarian Book Fair. The collection covers the period of 1593 to 1817, several of the records concerned Inquisitorial investigations into founding families of Nuevo Leon and, by extension, South Texas. To acquire something of this magnitude, one must either win the lottery or be a well-endowed center of learning. As it turned out, the Bancroft Library of the University of California at Berkeley became the proud new owner of fifty-nine of those volumes (Bancroft's announcement failed to explain the discrepancy).

The high price paid by Bancroft was determined by the extent and uniqueness of the collection, and is the exception, rather than the rule. Overall, much of the available material falls within the range of the average collector, although, in some cases, it might be necessary to forgo that new table saw until next year.

Western paper varies according to type of article (for example, a diary would cost more than a letter), historic value, rarity, and the person involved. A case in point is manuscript letters. The most expensive, of course, is autograph correspondence of famous westerners. A letter signed by George Armstrong Custer will fetch into the four figures for no other reason than it is a Custer letter. Anything handwritten by Stephen F. Austin is virtually

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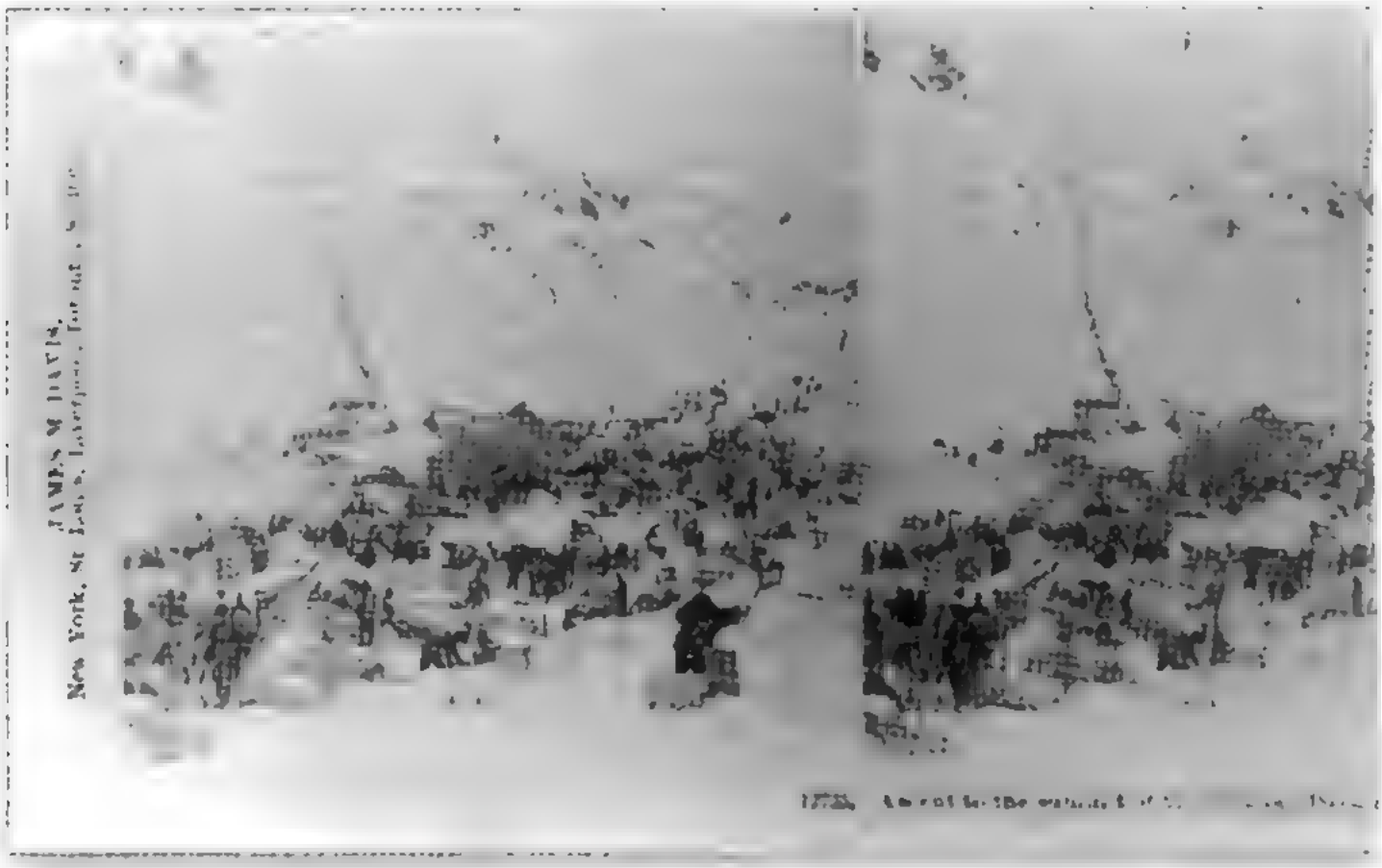
Stock certificates, like this one for a mine in Nevada's Comstock region, are a specialty of their own, and are becoming popular amon



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Author's Collection

eneral collectors.

Author's Collection

A stereo card purchased in an antique-collectible store for $2 50 shows prospectors climbing Chilcoothe Pass to the Yukon gold fields. It consists of two original photographic prints pasted on a card.

beyond reach of the average collector for the simple fact that very few examples remain outside of public collections. On the other hand, I once saw a two-page letter sent from Fort Davis, Texas, in the 1870s, describing a trip across West Texas to the fort, for $20 on a table at an antique show. Of course, by the time I went home, got my checkbook, and returned, the letter was sold.

Because of the high interest, Civil War letters from ordinary soldiers and civilians will command significantly higher prices than western letters from ordinary soldiers and civilians. One letter from an obscure Union or Confederate private in Virginia might be as expensive as six letters from an obscure private at an Indian War post in Montana. Mexican War letters are beginning to appreciate slightly because of growing attention to the subject. Nevertheless, most western letters (unless, of course, they carry a famous name) are still inexpensive compared with those from the Civil War.

Local interest can be a factor in price if not general market value. A Mexican War letter from Point Isabel, Texas, will cost significantly more in Port Isabel (as the point is now called) than it would—say—in San Francisco. A letter from Texas Ranger James B. Gillett will be priced considerably higher in Texas, where he is famous, than in New York where few have ever heard of him. On the opposite side of the coin, Spanish colonial manuscripts from the Southwest are still a bargain compared to British colonial documents from the East, notwithstanding the $125,000 the Bancroft Library expects to spend purchasing and processing the fifty-nine volumes of Inquisition records.

Original editions of books are probably the most expensive type of printed Western paper, and they continue to appreciate. In fact, at least one major regional publisher, State House Press in Austin, Texas, got into business by producing facsimile reprints of nineteenth and early twentieth century classics of Texana. Many of the early, original books were printed on perishable paper, and locally printed works were never produced in sizable quantities. A classic case is H.H. McConnell's *Five Years a Cavalryman*, which most historians consider to be the definitive memoir of the Indian fighting army. The book was printed in Jacksboro, Texas, in 1889, and the flimsy pink newsprint pages virtually guaranteed that the book would not withstand much hard use. Over the years, many copies of the original edition have fallen apart. About twelve years ago, I acquired a nearly mint copy for $550, but I doubt one could touch even a ragged example now for under $1,000. Three years ago, one surfaced at an auction with a reserve bid of $1,200.

Even fairly modern publications can command high prices. University of Oklahoma Press original editions from the 1960s, in good condition with dust jackets intact, often sell for many times the original cover price. Nevertheless, a person who looks hard, has the right friends, or the right amount of luck, can come into something really worthwhile. In the spring of 1998, an original edition of *Five Years a Cavalryman* showed up in a Jacksboro garage sale for fifty cents. (The person who found it was honest enough to advise the seller of the true value; the seller told her to take it for fifty cents anyway.) Several years ago, family friends gave me original editions of Mark Twain's *Roughing It*, W. Fletcher Johnson's *Life of Sitting Bull and History of the Indian War of 1890-91*, and Samuel Smucker's *Life Among the Mormons*.

The best advice concerning books was that given me several years ago by Texas bibliophile Jenkins Garrett, whose collection forms the basis of the research library at the University of Texas-Arlington. "Buy first editions," he said, "and buy hardcover." These will appreciate in value much more than reprints, and paperbacks might actually lose value.

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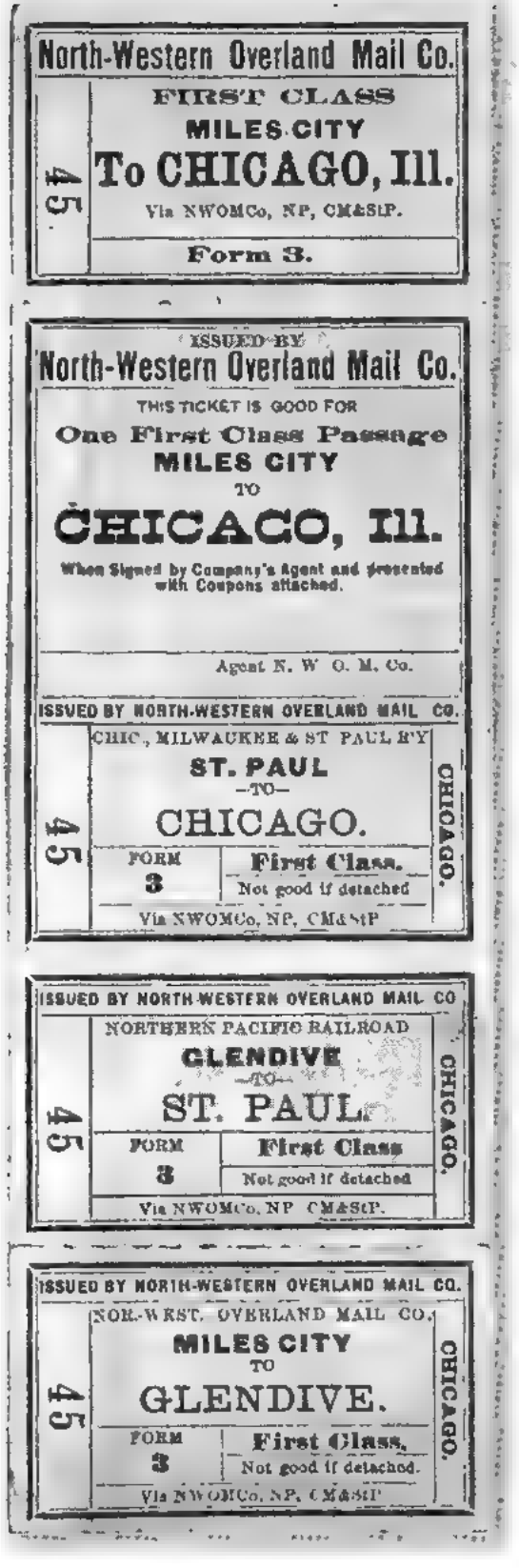

Author's Collection

A ticket issued by the North-Western Overland Mail Co. offers stagecoach transportation from Miles City, Montana, to the railhead at Glendive, and train from there to Chicago. Not considered important at the time, tickets were discarded when they became obsolete or were used, and those with all the stubs are among the great rarities of the West.

Broadsides, pamphlets, maps, and stock certificates are also a good field for starting a western collection, although these are beginning to go up in price as the supply dwindles and the demand increases. One can't buy everything, but if you set specific goals and are selective, some good representative pieces can be acquired.

At one recent auction I purchased an 1876 certificate for a hundred shares of mining stock in Nevada. Checking the estimated value in the catalogue (a fair indication of the ultimate bid price) it was neither the cheapest nor the most expensive. It was, however, for a mine in the Comstock region while that lode was still being worked at a reasonable profit, and this was a determining factor in my decision. I will buy a Texas pamphlet or broadside over examples from California because, being from Texas, that is my primary interest. By the same token, I would prefer paper money issued by the Republic of Texas over that issued by the Confederate States of America. In printed or manuscript militaria, I will take a piece concerning Ranald Mackenzie over one involving Nelson Miles simply because I am more interested in Mackenzie (there really doesn't have to be any logic to the system, so long as one uses a system).

Aside from the satisfaction of handling something that was created and/or handled by a person who helped open the American West, paper gives a good picture of how things were. A letter describes a way of life that is gone forever. A pamphlet or a broadside shows what people believed at the time. Paper money and stock certificates often have vignettes illustrating some aspect of western life. Many of these vignettes, as well as illustrations from nineteenth century books, have appeared in modern books about the West, not the least of which was Time-Life's Old West series of the 1970s. I once ordered an illustration of Fort Brown, Texas, in the 1840s from the Library of Congress, only to get one that I already had—in a first edition copy of W.S. Henry's *Campaign Sketches of the War with Mexico.*

With illustrations, however, it is wise to remember that all was not what it appears. Line engravings and metal plate photographs (tintypes and daguerreotypes) are particularly tricky. With an engraved illustration, the artist draws the picture which ultimately ends up in the hands of the engraver, who makes an exact copy on wood, stone, or metal. The finished illustration is printed directly from that engraving, producing an image in reverse of the original. The same applies to daguerreotypes and tintypes which, lacking negatives, are mirror image photographs of the subject. Thus the only documented photograph—a tintype—of Billy the Kid shows him with his revolver strapped to his left side, creating the tradition that the Kid was left-handed. In fact, Billy was right-handed, but the tintype reversed the image.

Stock, letterhead, document, and currency vignettes may show western life as it really was, or they may show an engraver or promoter's ideal of what western life should have been. Either way, they are valuable portrayals of the times.

At the risk of repeating myself, it does help to be rich (doesn't everything?) but people on limited budgets are eligible to become collectors of western paper. Nevertheless, bargains are still out there. Several years ago, I stopped by a local antique-and-collectible shop and walked out with six original stereo cards of the Klondike Gold Rush. These had the actual photographic prints pasted on them and included one of the famous views of the long column of gold-seekers climbing Chilicoothe Pass. I bought them for

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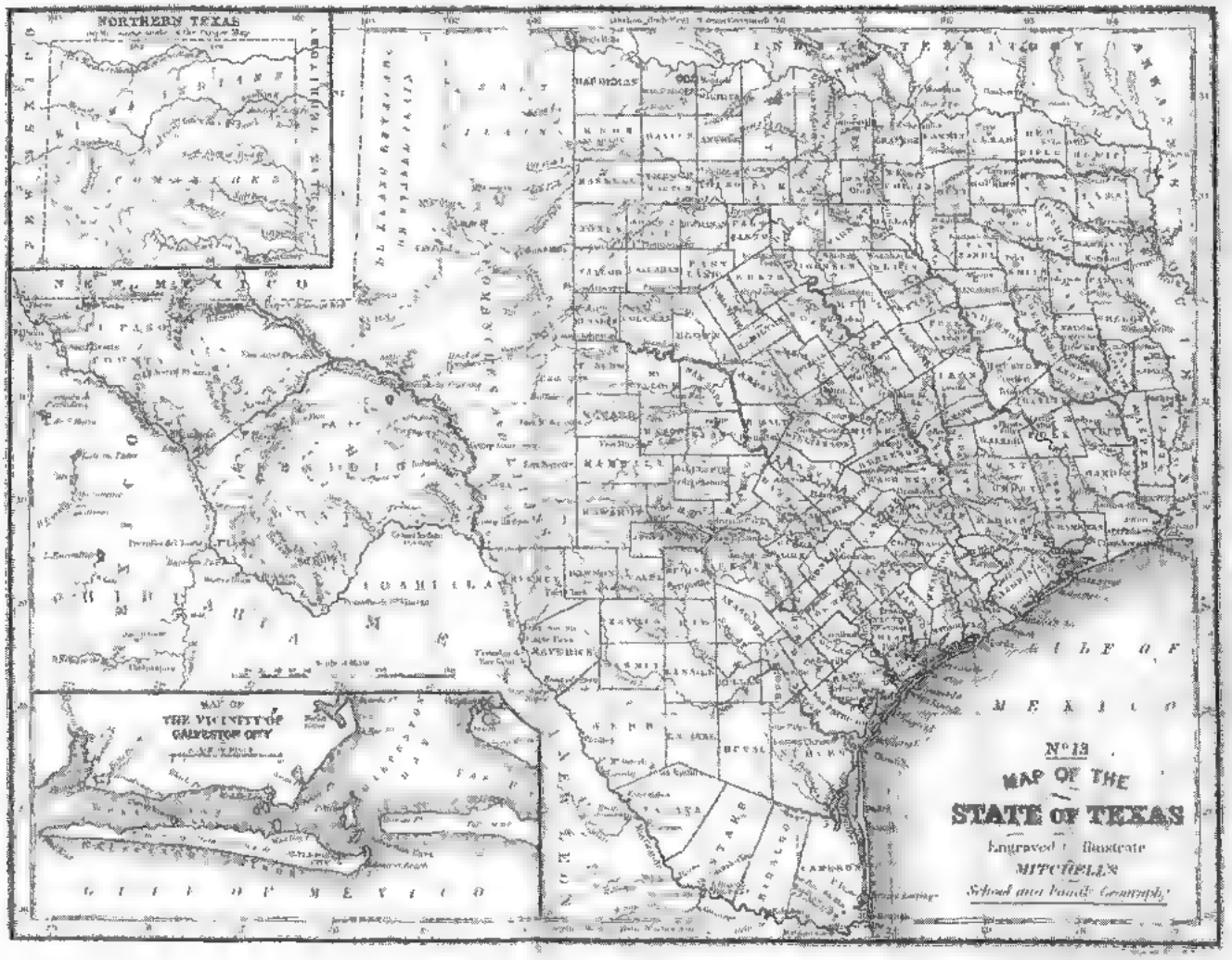

Author's Collection

Like stock certificates, maps are a specialty all their own. Much of western Texas was still unknown when this map was prepared in the late 1850s.

$2.50 each. The same shop yielded a stereo card of a Ute family about the turn of the century, which cost $10 (Indian scenes are always more expensive, and a Custer photo will exceed $300). On yet another expedition to the same shop, I acquired an 1878 copy of *Harper's Weekly*, containing a cartoon of bandy-legged Secretary of the Interior Carl Schurz assuring a settler whose family had just been massacred that Indians were not a problem. (This is another image that has been reproduced in modern histories of the Indian Wars.)

Acquiring paper is only part of the job. Far more difficult is the matter of preservation. In many cases, paper was never meant to be permanent, and well into this century was permeated with acid that virtually guarantees deterioration. The pages in my original edition of N.C. Brooks' *Complete History of the Mexican War* are turning brown, and the illustrations in my 1848 edition of John Charles Frémont's *Narrative of the Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains...and to Oregon and North California* have stained the facing pages. The deterioration can be halted and the acid neutralized with readily available chemical treatments which, with a little care, can be applied by the amateur. The same applies for maps, letters, documents, and the like.

Newspapers, maps, and letters should be packaged between two sheets of Mylar, held together along the edges with double-stick tape designed for the purpose. This is completely reversible simply by snipping off the end of the Mylar. Never, never, laminate documents to any sort of backing.

Storage should be away from light, in inert sleeves or folders, and in boxes designed for the purpose. These are available for anything from stereo cards, to letters, to sheet music to baseball cards. If I want to display a rare old photograph, I have it copied, and frame the copy on the wall. After all, the copy can be reprinted. The original cannot.

The best advice is to consult with the archivist at the nearest major university library or historical research depository. As a rule, these people are more than helpful and generally have a large assortment of catalogues of preservation products from various sources.

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WYOMING'S FIRST BLACK LEGISLATOR:
WILLIAM JEFFERSON HARDIN

By Larry K. Brown

Wyoming Division of Cultural Resources

William Jefferson Hardin, was chosen to represent the Colorado Republican party at the 1872 territorial convention. After moving to Cheyenne, Wyoming, Hardin was elected the state's first black legislator, and as a delegate at Wyoming's sixth and seventh legislative assemblies.

The blaze in the fireplace snapped and cracked like a whip as it tried to cage winter's chill at Cheyenne's Opera House, where members of Wyoming's Seventh Legislative Assembly met in 1882. As the men warmed to their work, they repealed a law, passed thirteen years earlier by the First Legislature, that banned interracial marriages.

That group included a proud, dark-skinned gentleman, with jet black hair and eyes, whose 140 pounds hid his 5'10" frame like a thin sheet of bronze. And, as Wyoming's first black legislator, he probably felt joy, because the brave votes cast by him and his majority destigmatized his birth and legitimized his marriage.

Born around 1830 in Russellville, Kentucky, as the son of a free black mother and a white father, William Jefferson Hardin claimed to be the brother of Ben Hardin, one of the most eminent barristers and criminal layers to serve before the bar of that state.

Later, after living eleven years in a celibate commune of the United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Appearing—better known as "Shakers"—the young man moved to Bowling Green, Kentucky. There for the next year or so, he taught at a school composed of "free children of color."

Then, sometime after 1850 gold called him west to California, where he spent the next four years before returning home. Having experienced a relatively unfettered life in the Far West, he again left the Bluegrass State vowing "he would never set his feet on the soil of old

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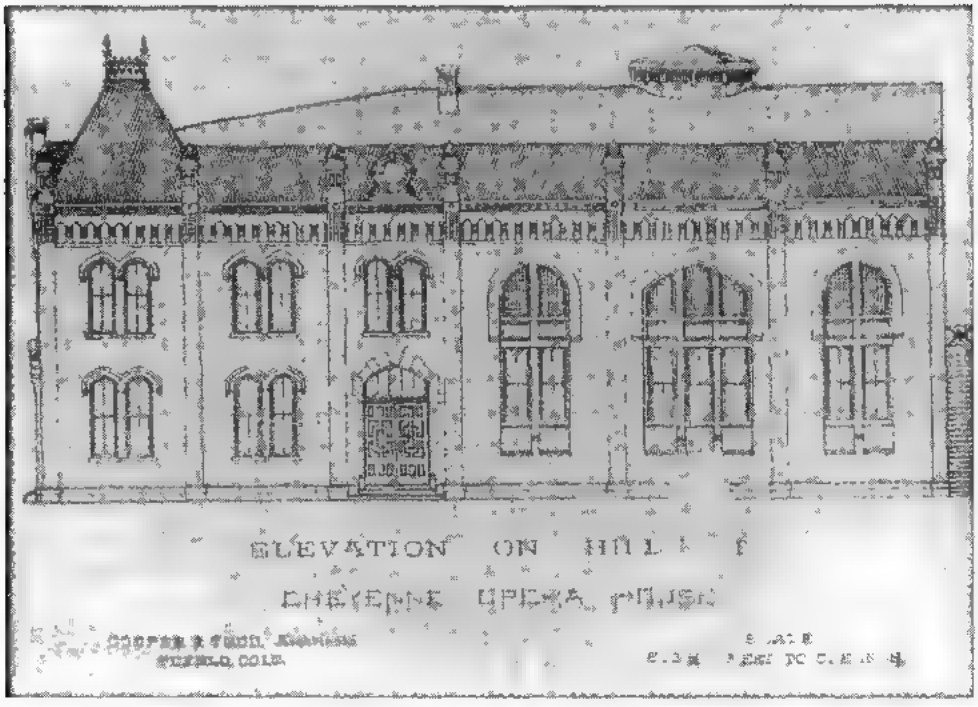
Kentucky again, until it was consecrated to freedom." This time he went to Canada, then to Janesville, Wisconsin, Council Bluffs, Iowa, and Nebraska before, in 1863, settling at Denver, Colorado.

In the Mile High City, Hardin speculated in stocks and managed a poolroom before finding his niche as a barber. Thanks to his charisma and gift of gab, he soon became a leader in the black community. While many Negroes lived quietly in their communities and avoided drawing attention to themselves, Hardin seemed to seek the spotlight and used his oratorical skills to attract its attention. In some of his first speeches in Denver and the surrounding area, he praised the accomplishments of Haitian black patriot and general Toussaint L'Ouverture in Haiti. According to the editor of the *Black Hawk Daily Mining Journal*, Hardin's talks proved so persuasive that they convinced him "that under proper culture blacks may be redeemed." Hardin, however, believed his remarks at a citizens' meeting, hastily called upon hearing of President Abraham Lincoln's assassination on April 14, 1865, established his reputation. Those who heard his talk proclaimed it to be "one of the most...eloquent orations delivered in Colorado on that memorable occasion."



Wyoming Division of Cultural Resources

The celebrated Opera House in Cheyenne, Wyoming, served as the site for Wyoming's Seventh Legislative Assembly from January 10 through April 10, 1882.

As his celebrity as a public speaker spread and his constituency grew larger, he began to press for equal rights for blacks. The rather liberal 1861 law which established voter qualifications in Colorado Territory permitted all males of more than twenty-one years old to cast ballots.

The territorial legislature amended that law three years later, however, specifically prohibiting blacks and mulattos from voting. Black resentment and hostility caused by that law helped bring Hardin to the fore. At a November 7, 1865, public debate regarding the issue of equal rights, the "Colored Orator of Denver," as his fans increasingly called him, challenged congressional candidates James J. Cavanaugh and John M. Chivington, who supported the discriminatory legislation. After first criticizing his opponents for their support of Irish suffrage, he castigated them for characterizing Negroes and Indians as "uncivilized." He then launched into an "eloquent" lecture on the accomplishments of blacks, according to the *Denver Rocky Mountain News*. His speech proved so effective that the predominantly white audience, although not favoring suffrage for all Negroes, seemed to conclude that Hardin, at least, proved his right to the ballot. Even Cavanaugh reversed his stand and offered his support for nondiscriminatory voting rights.

As word of Hardin's effective advocacy of equal suffrage spread, so grew his popularity as a public speaker. For example, during 1866, he delivered major addresses commemorating the Emancipation Proclamation and Independence Day. Perhaps no speech that Hardin made, however, produced so great a sensation as the one he delivered on a July 4, 1866, in the capital city. He so inflamed the crowd that day with his account of horrors committed during the race riot that year in Memphis and recollections of other cruelties suffered by Negroes in the South that it brought tears to the eyes of his audience. Years later, he called it one of his best efforts and cred-

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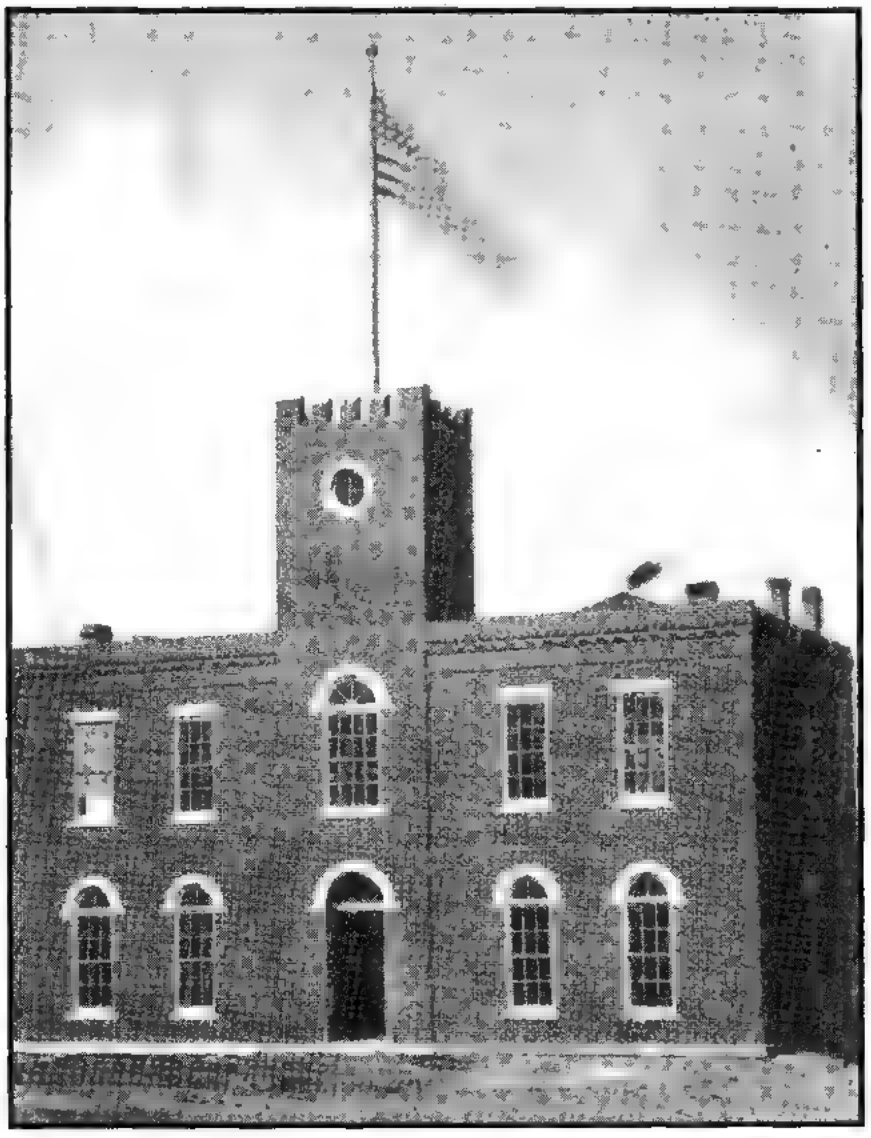
ited Arapaho County Sheriff David Cook for saving his life from anti-abolitionists in the crowd, who murdered a black man within hours of the talk.

Swept up with the growing effectiveness of his local speechmaking, he broadened his campaign on behalf of equal rights to launch a direct national appeal via letters, telegrams, and petitions for support. Specifically, he decried the lack of public education for black children. One of his first notes, for example, went to Horace Greeley, the fiery editor of the *New York Tribune*. In that epistle, Hardin reported that authorities forced several of his successful black friends—Barney Ford and Edward Sanderlin, for example—to send their children back east to attend private schools even though those successful businessmen paid local taxes, respectively, on properties valued at $30,000 and $40,000. In reprisal, he asked Greeley to help him fight against Colorado's admission as a state to the Union, then being considered by Congress, because the Colorado constitution denied equal suffrage. The great newspaperman, however, balked at that suggestion, maintaining that every state and territory should stipulate its own voting requirements. Hardin's similar plea to Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts, however, gained the opposite reply. In fact, Sumner lobbied tirelessly on Hardin's behalf until Congress finally passed the law granting equal suffrage in the territories.



Denver Public Library, Western History Collection

The Denver branch of the United States Mint, where William J. Hardin worked briefly in 1873 as a gold weigher and clerk.

Perhaps that which most infuriated most Coloradoans, however, came in the form of a petition, which Hardin sent to Congress in December 1865 demanding Colorado be denied statehood "until the word white be erased from her State Constitution." The fact that 137 black men signed that document suggests that he achieved some degree of Negro unity, at least in the Denver metropolitan area. He followed that mailing with a petition, which he sent to Territorial Governor Alexander Cummings, in which he questioned suffrage and educational restrictions, and asked for the governor's help in eliminating those laws. Although Cummings acceded to Hardin's wishes, as evidenced by his subsequent efforts to bring about impartial suffrage and greater educational opportunities for blacks, his immediate efforts proved futile.

Thanks, however, to the untiring efforts of men like Hardin, Governor Cummings, Senator Sumner, and those other leaders who shared their views, blacks in all of the territories, including Colorado, finally gained from Congress the right to vote in January 1867, three years before the Fifteenth Amendment became effective. While Coloradoans accepted equal suffrage without noticeable opposition, a *Denver Rocky Mountain News* editorial by William Byers, made clear that Hardin's aggressiveness in the matter "created antagonism" for him. While the public seemed to support Hardin's verbal appeals in 1865, editorial sympathy for his cause disappeared the following year when his petitions to Congress and Colorado's territorial legislature became publicly known. Continued attacks by the

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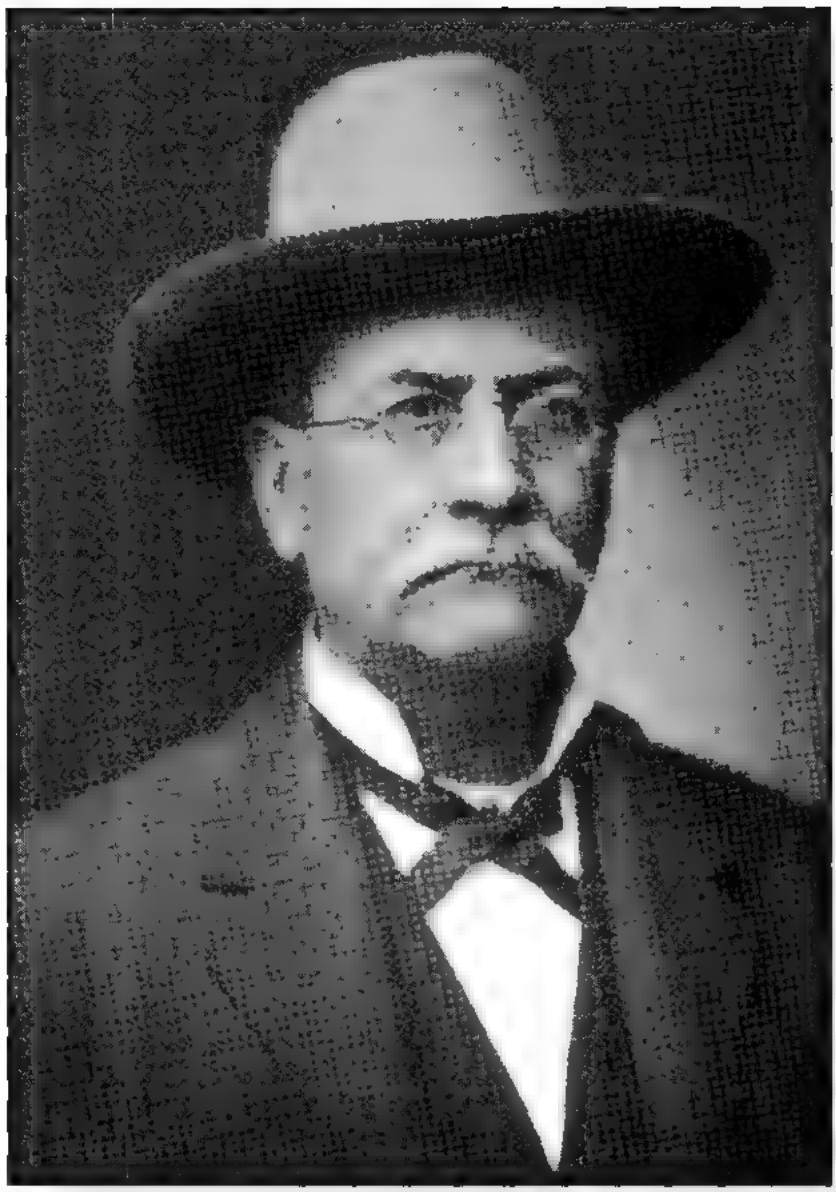
press, in fact, gradually made him *persona non grata* to many of his white contemporaries.

The abrasive Hardin's readiness to publicly chastise others of his own race for their periodic poor behavior succeeded in antagonizing his fellow blacks, as well. For example, a fight broke out among Negroes on August 1, 1867, as they celebrated emancipation in the West Indies. Instead of choosing a more tactful approach, Hardin fired off a lengthy letter to the editor of the *Denver Rocky Mountain News*, labeling the participants as "utterly depraved and degraded." Further, he asked the citizens of Denver to respond by heaping "just condemnation" upon the fighters for their "niggerdly [sic]" conduct. He also lectured blacks on proper manners, suggesting they "deserved segregation or exclusion from public places" if they failed to observe expected decorum. Regarding Hardin's slurs as demeaning, some blacks wrote to the *Denver Colorado Tribune* demanding a public apology. Refusing to make amends, Hardin countered with a statement that "among those who signed the article is the name of a man whom my friends have often pointed out to me as one of my most inveterate enemies, a man of whom it is said never loses an opportunity to vilify and belittle me, although he is as sneaking about it as a snake in the grass."



Denver Public Library, Western History Collection

Arapaho County Sheriff David Cook, Hardin claimed, saved his life from anti-abolitionists following a July the Fourth celebration in Denver in 1866.

Regrettably for all concerned, Hardin's desire for attention and arrogance caused him to cross swords with fellow blacks on still other occasions. Take the case of school integration, for example. While it is true that, in pursuit of equal suffrage, Hardin called for greater public educational opportunities for black youth, it seems Lewis Douglass, Jr., the son of abolitionist Frederick Douglass, made increased schooling a reality for his Denver brethren during his visit there in 1866-1867. Following the granting of equal suffrage by Congress in January 1867, Lewis established a night school for black adults so they might better understand the functions of government and politics. The following June, he demanded education at the public's expense for black youth, as well. On the other hand, Hardin did not enter the fray until that August when he and his supporters met with members of the Denver Board of Trustees for Schools and unsuccessfully demanded integration.

Despite his relatively late entry in that struggle, some still credit Hardin for the school board's 1873 decision that made it possible for black children to be educated in segregated schools for several years before full integration came to Denver some six years later. According to a 1879 political biography published in the *Cheyenne Daily Sun*, that success stemmed from his debate with George W. Miller, a white segregationist. During their meeting, Miller allegedly spoke first, characterizing blacks as "degraded" and "beyond education." Witnesses recalled what happened next.

When Miller took his seat it was evident from the applause he received that he had made a considerable impression at the meeting in favor of non-admission. Then Hardin rose to reply; his best friends feared that he was

not equal to the occasion.

But they were mistaken. His opponent had aroused all of his latent powers, and in a speech of one hour, full of facts, logic, sarcasm, and eloquence he completely and successfully refuted Miller's arguments. "During the delivery of Hardin's speech, Miller changed colors and positions and squirmed and twisted like a worm in hot embers. Republicans and Democrats who were present at the meeting said they never before [witnessed] Miller so badly used up on the rostrum or at the bar as on that occasion."

Hardin proved so popular and effective, local Republican leaders chose him to represent them at their party's 1872 territorial convention. The following year, those same appreciative pols helped him land a job as a gold weigher and clerk with the Denver branch of the U.S. Mint. In 1873, he also wed Nellie Davidson, a white lady from New York, who worked locally as a milliner.

But, soon thereafter, a black woman, calling herself Caroline Hardin, burst on the scene with proof she wed Hardin in Kentucky and bore him a daughter, Maty Elizabeth. Moreover, she charged that Hardin moved from Omaha to Denver to avoid being drafted into the Union Army during the Civil War. Hardin acknowledged her charges as true. But, he claimed their marriage to be illegal and void because he was a minor at the time and she was a slave.

Denver Public Library, Western History Collection

George W. Miller, a white segregationist, debated Hardin at a Denver school board meeting in 1873. Hardin's arguments resulted in the admittance of black children to some Denver public schools.

Although Hardin was never charged with any crimes, the scandal led the mint's director, Charles Davis, to fire him, so Hardin moved that same fall to Cheyenne, where he returned to the tonsorial trade to support himself and his wife. Not long after settling in the "Magic City on the Plains," however, Hardin's pleasing personality and eloquence again won friends, both white and black.

Some suggest that Hardin's first step on his road back to politics began in April 1878 when he spoke about the evils of alcohol to members of the local Presbyterian church. In only his second major speech since moving to Wyoming, the crowd "frequently interrupted by applause" the prohibitionist's words of warning, according to a *Cheyenne Daily Sun* reporter who attended the event. Within a year, various groups regularly called upon him to speak at their public meetings.

With his obvious visibility and increased popularity, he soon caught the eye of the Laramie County fusion, or union ticket, delegates—made up of both Democrats and Republicans—responsible for choosing candidates for election in 1879 to Wyoming's Sixth Legislative Assembly. During the ensuing convention that August, Hardin earned one of four House positions "amid loud cheering." In the stirring scene that followed, Hardin "brought down the house" with his acceptance remarks. In Wyoming's territorial gen-

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eral election that followed on September 2, he won a seat in the House of Representatives, no small feat in a state where only three percent of the population declared their race to 1880 census takers as "Negro." Praising the people's fairness, the *Cheyenne Daily Leader* called Hardin's election "a moral triumph." Moreover, it added, "What other territory or northern state can boast such liberality." The *Cheyenne Daily Sun* cheered Hardin for breaking down racial prejudice "by preeminent manifestations of ability and upright conduct."

When the assembly convened in Cheyenne that November 4, the House leadership appointed him to the Indian and Military Affairs Committee, as well as to the Joint Standing Committee on Printing. It also honored him that day by assigning him during the opening session to introduce the House's speaker, H.L. Myrick. During the next forty days that the Assembly met, Hardin introduced six bills. Of his only proposals to become law, however, one called for the protection of dairymen and the other, the destruction of hawks and eagles "to protect poultry."

Despite his fine service on behalf of the people, Hardin barely won a second term in the Wyoming House of Representatives. In the November 2, 1880, elections, he received 1,277 votes, a mere fifty-eight ballots more than his closest rival. Nonetheless, he survived as the only House member of the Sixth session to serve during the Seventh Legislative Assembly whose term ended December 31, 1883. As the only returning representative, he became chairman of the relatively unimportant Engrossment Committee, which occasionally presided over the House when it met as a committee of the whole.

Denver Public Library, Western History Collection

Charles Davis, director of the Denver branch of the U.S. Mint, fired Hardin in 1873 after he was charged with being a draft dodger and bigamist.

During the 1882 legislative session, Hardin introduced three bills, only two of which the House enacted. The first amended the law incorporating Cheyenne, while addressing the city's boundaries. The second made it a misdemeanor to "exhibit any kind of fire arms, bowie knife, dirk, dagger, slug [sic] shot or other deadly weapon in a rude, angry or threatening manner," except in the defense of self, family, or property. Although Hardin was not the author of the act, perhaps one of the most significant laws passed during that session in terms of his personal life, however, dealt with interracial marriage. Hardin, black husband of a white woman, delivered perhaps one of his most moving speeches, "earnest and eloquent, bristling with facts," in favor of removing a ban that existed since 1869 when the First Legislative Assembly passed the bill.

The following year, for reasons not clear, the Hardins packed their bags and moved to Park City, Utah, where after another brief fling with politics, this once fiery celebrity quickly faded first to ember, then to ash. Nellie left him, and, as his business and health failed, the once great orator lost the last of his luck at a cabin he shared with a male friend. Sadly, after "four unsuccessful attempts to end my miserable life by taking laudanum poison," he only found peace on Friday, September 13, 1889, with a self-inflicted, .38 caliber bullet to his heart.

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Outlaws & Lawmen

019—Billy the Kid: A Short and Violent Life. *By Utley.* 328p. U. of Neb. **$14.00p**

022—Historical Atlas of the Outlaw West. *By Patterson.* 232p. Johnson Books. **$16.95p**

035—West of Hell's Fringe: Crime, Criminals, and the Federal Peace Officer in Oklahoma Territory. *By Shirley.* 496p. Univ of Okla. Press. **$18.95p**

040—Rise and Fall of the Sundance Kid. *By Kirby.* 153p. Western Pub. **$7.95p**

070—High Noon in Lincoln: Violence on the Western Frontier. *By Utley.* 278p. U. of NM Press. **$13.95p**

079—Law West of Fort Smith. *By Shirley.* 349p. Univ. of Neb. **$14.95p**

136—They Called Him Wild Bill. *By Rosa.* Thorough 377p. U. of Okla. Press. **$21.95p**

138—Great Gunfighters of the Kansas Cowtowns. *By Miller and Snell.* 494p. U. of Neb. Press. **$14.00p**

139—Jesse James Was His Name. *By Settle.* Well documented. 283p. U. of Neb. Press. **$11.95p**

140—A Cowboy Detective. *By Stringo.* A western classic. 556p. U. of Neb. Press. **$14.95p**

142—Gunfighter: Man or Myth. *By Rosa.* 229p. U. of Okla. Press. **$14.95p**

143—Life of Tom Horn. *By Horn.* Reprint of 1904 classic. 272p. U. of Okla. Press. **$12.95p**

144—John Selman, Gunfighter. *By Metz.* 254p. Univ. of U of Okla. Press. **$14.95p**

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Reviews

Frontier Medicine

A Saw, Pocket Instruments, and Two Ounces of Whiskey: Frontier Military Medicine in the Great Basin. By Anton Paul Sohn. (Arthur H. Clark Company, Box 14707, Spokane, Washington 99214-0707. 237 pages. $32.50 Cloth.)

You can't judge a book by its cover; and neither can you tell the merits of its innards by its title. Hiding behind the awful, cumbersome title and subtitle of this volume is a first-rate contribution to regional history, and one that transcends its locality in importance. It is a modest-sized book immodestly jammed with information on a neglected chapter of western history, the Army's hospitals and their doctors.

The first part is a description of the forts, 1857-1893, in the Great Basin, mostly Nevada, but extending from Utah and eastern Oregon to the top corner of California. Here is much new or hard-to-find information on the history of such posts as Forts Bidwell and Churchill. In addition, the author locates the sites for us and indicates if any buildings or ruins remain.

There follow chapters on the training and examination of nineteenth century physicians, then a most interesting one on the health of our frontier soldiers. No wonder that there was so much drunkenness and desertion (and occasional suicides) in these lonely, boring outposts. Soldiers suffered far more from disease than (rare) gunshot and arrow wounds in Indian skirmishes. Worst were common diarrhea, sometimes fatal like typhoid, from poor hygiene and sanitation. Next was, surprisingly, malaria. Dry Nevada should have been relatively free from so-called intermittent fever. But soldiers transferred there brought the disease with them. Alcoholism was much more of a problem than venereal disease, incidentally, and there was plenty of illness from rheumatism and scurvy, the latter from the soldier's poor diet.

Besides a splendid bibliography and photos of forts and doctors, there is a biographical roster of individual Army surgeons that is worth the "price of admission" all by itself. Probably, all of these men will be completely unknown to readers; yet some of them were genuine heroes, like Drs. W.H. Corbusier and G.M. Kober. The latter helped the Army stumble onto antiseptics and the germ, or bacteria, concept when treating a gunshot wound to the knee of a soldier who adamantly refused the usual treatment—amputation.

Much of the regional information in this book can be extrapolated to furnish us with an idea of the day-to-day life of our Indian-fighting Army (at least when on sick call) wherever it served in the West. Bravo!—*Richard H. Dillon, Mill Valley, California.*

Utah History

In Another Time: Sketches of Utah History. By Harold Schindler. (Utah State University Press, Logan, Utah 84322-7800. 216 pages. $19.95 Paper; $34.95 Cloth.)

Long-time *Salt Lake Tribune* columnist Harold Schindler probably knows Utah as well as anyone since Charles Kelly. In 1994, in preparation for the 1996 centennial of Utah's statehood, Schindler began a series of columns and feature stories, "In Another Time." The parade of columns, some 100 in total, continued until Schindler's retirement in 1997. He selected forty for this collection.

"The series was to tell of the people and the deeds, good and bad," Schindler writes in his introduction, "that formed the backbone of Utah Territory, to describe the progenitors of today's movers and shakers." The well-illustrated volume opens with an essay on the Desert Culture, Utah's first inhabitants, who settled the Great Basin

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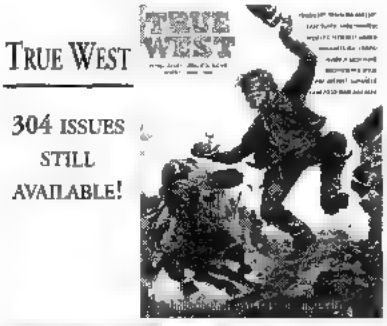

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in 11,000 B.C., and closes with a sketch about sales-tax tokens, perhaps the second dumbest idea to come out of the Utah legislature. For about twenty years, from the late 1930s through the mid-1950s, Utahns paid the state sales tax with small aluminum disks. Their pockets bulging with regular coins and tax tokens, men found themselves forced to carry coin purses. The governor who signed the bill into law was Henry Blood. The tokens were dubbed "Blood money."

Between the Desert Culture and Blood money, Schindler recalls the stories of the Grantsville camel invasion; the supreme court justice whose wife was a prostitute; Horace Greeley's encounter with Brigham Young; the Utah soldier who wrote one of America's all-time best sellers, *Robert's Rules of Order*; and the very dumbest idea to come out of Utah's government: the Deseret Alphabet. In 1868, the territorial legislature appropriated $10,000 to publish spellers and readers in the Deseret Alphabet, an attempt to help assimilate Mormon converts from Europe by devising a totally new, common language, using "an entirely new and original set of characters." The Deseret Alphabet makes Blood money look like a work of genius.—*Dan Buck, Washington, DC.*

Gold Fever

Gold Rush. Edited by Michael Kowalewsky. (Heyday Books, Box 9145, Berkeley, California 94709. 477 pages. $18.48 Paper.)

Anthologies, by their very nature, are uneven; their chapters often vary widely in quality and interest. But this sampling of California Gold Rush writing, published in connection with the PBS documentary, *The Gold Rush*, is an excellent example of the breed. It starts out with a first-rate, even-handed introduction by the editor. He shows us the Argonauts, "warts and all." The excessive, rugged individualism of these young, rootless men led not only to general lawlessness and violence, but also specifically to the trampling of the rights of non-WASPS and the destruction of the environment. But he does his duty without the unbalanced negativism of the New Agenda historians.

Although there is very little fiction included, the book's subtitle, "A Literary Exploration," is fitting, for the caliber of the non-fiction prose selections is so high and not just in terms of documentation, but in a literary—aesthetic—sense.

Wisely, for readability, the editor avoids ordinary journals and letters and chooses not only such recognized classics as Richard Henry Dana's *Two Years Before the Mast*, Bayard Taylor's *El Dorado*, and Dame Shirley's *Letters* (which transcend the genre), but also less-known but astonishingly good writers. These include Edwin Bryant, Joseph Warren Revere, Frank Marryat, and Death Valley's William Manley. Dana's book is a classic, but the virtually unknown William H. Thomes also penned a remarkable description of the coastal hide and tallow trade and company. (It is interesting to compare the esteem in which he and John Bidwell, also a surprisingly good writer, held John Sutter, whom they knew, with the disdain for the captain held by revisionist historians of today with 20/20 hindsight.)

Women besides Dame Shirley are represented, too, like Sarah Royce, and blacks, Jews, Irish, French, *Californios*, and *Chilenos*. Indians and Chinese, illiterate in English, are largely described by whites.

The editor breaks his book into three parts—pre-gold discovery; the Gold Rush, per se; and post-Rush. The last section is weaker than the other two, even with the presence of Mark Twain, Bret Harte, and J. Ross Browne. (Indeed, the contributions of recent writers could have been left out entirely.)

Nobody's perfect, and a few editorial choices seem ill-advised—the fake letters of a supposed (caricatured) Chinese to a newspaper; the fictional *Diary* of a Forty-Niner by Chauncy Canfield, purporting to be true; and, especially, the snippets of Blaise Cendrar's novel, *Gold*, as bad as Frank Norris's *McTeague*, also

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included, is good.

But, all in all, this is an extraordinarily well-chosen selection of California "Gold Rushiana."—*Richard H. Dillon, Mill Valley, California.*

Miner Diary

A Forty-niner from Tennessee: The Diary of Hugh Brown Heiskell. Edited by Edward M. Steel. (University of Tennessee Press, 293 Communications Building, Knoxville, Tennessee 37996-0325. Illustrations, maps. 160 pages. $30.00 Cloth.)

We do not know why Hugh Heiskell left his home in rural Monroe County, Tennessee, and struck out for the California goldfields in 1849, but we can be grateful that he chose to keep a well-written and frequently intriguing account of his overland passage, published here for the first time.

As his emigrant party inched its way west, up the Platte, through northern Utah and down the Humboldt and Carson rivers, Heiskell paused long enough to note all particulars of the journey, rather than the miscellaneous and statistical memoranda which typify so many diaries of this kind. Among many other scenes, we see unscrupulous gamblers finding easy "marks" in camp; hunting expeditions and camp feasts, both satisfying and unsatisfying; petty arguments over servant-whipping and trail-droving; and toward the end of the trek, an unnerving Indian attack.

Equally significant is the psychological insight which occasionally emanates from Heiskell's entries. While he does not expressly state that the imminence of death and calamity was on his mind—as it must have been for other forty-niners on the trail—we can sense it when he writes, "As we looked from the summit on the beautiful plain, after so long and tiresome a drive, I thought of Moses ascending Mount Nebo and viewing from Pisgah height the promised land, and was perhaps as much rejoiced as he, though not as ready to die."

The production of this book exhibits some noticeable flaws. While a number of physically attractive maps are provided to delineate Heiskell's trip, they fail to identify all the places mentioned by him, or to insert speculations when necessary. Even sadder are the photographs, all of which are reproduced slightly larger than a commemorative postage stamp and cannot be appreciated at such a small scale.

Editor Steel demonstrates extensive research in his notes and bibliography, yet his performance is also found wanting in places. While he is quick to footnote Heiskell's brief mention of the noted Peg-Leg Smith, he neglects to comment on the subsequent appearance of an equally famous mountain man, Jim Kirker. Nor does he correct a reference to "Sublet's cut-off" and pause to explain its naming after fur tradesman Bill Sublette.

These concerns aside, what remains has definite historical and literary value. While this is perhaps more a collection of sidelights than a rip-roaring, action-packed narrative, it will likely hold the attention of anyone who has an interest in overland travel as it was in 1849. It is particularly commended to those interested in the subject who, as yet, have not read an adequate introductory text and are up for a brief visit, via print, to the trailsides and mining camps of yore.—*William Secrest, Fresno, California.*

Military Money

Fort Riley and Its Neighbors, Military Money and Economic Growth, 1853-1895. By William A. Dobak. (University of Oklahoma Press, 1005 Asp Avenue, Norman, Oklahoma 73019-6051. 264 pages. $29.95 Cloth.)

William A. Dobak, in *Fort Riley and Its Neighbors, Military Money and Economic Growth, 1853-1895,* has broken new ground in the field of military history. A number of books have been written about western outposts, but the emphasis always has been on military activities—arduous campaigns, vicious attacks and ambushes, heroic troopers and warriors and officers and chiefs. It is

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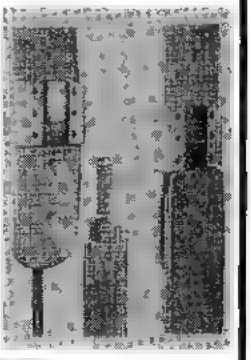

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customary in such books to mention that a frontier outpost brought to a region an army payroll, civilian jobs, and a market for livestock and farm products, and that a town—sometimes a future city, such as Fort Worth—would take shape because of those economic factors. That much and little more having been said, the historian of a fort then proceeds to relate the action of related military adventures.

Dobak, on the other hand, has chosen to concentrate on the economic forces which created Fort Riley and which strongly impacted the surrounding neighborhood. In so doing, he has taken frontier military history to a new level, examining the army's role as a conduit for funneling federal money into a frontier economy. Founded in Kansas Territory in 1853, Fort Riley offers a revealing example of the profound influence exercised by the Army on the economy of the American West.

Until the railroad arrived at Fort Riley in 1866, the post employed as many as two hundred teamsters at a time, in addition to various other civilian employees. Construction and building repair offered frequent employment to carpenters and other laborers, and local contractors thrived on these projects at Fort Riley. Fort Riley was built in the midst of a 20,000-acre reservation, and hay from the vast meadows was shipped by rail to cavalry outposts across the West. When the Indian Wars ended in the 1880s, the Army reordered its entire scheme of garrisons and forts, concentrating large bodies of troops where they could be moved rapidly and supplied cheaply by rail, while eliminating isolated outposts. Fort Riley, located near the geographical center of the United States, was selected as one of the large permanent posts, and the huge military reservation offered a natural site for the Army's new artillery instruction school. In earlier years Fort Riley had zero funding budgeted for roof repairs or other basic maintenance, but from 1886-1891 the army would spend more than $750,000 to renovate and expand the old frontier outpost. Fort Riley thus would continue to impact the local economy during the twentieth century.

Dobak provides numerous tables to illustrate detailed information about the jobs and wages and other expenditures offered through Fort Riley. Emphasizing that the military was the source of most deferral funds that reached the frontier, Dobak has managed to tell a fresh and intriguing story about the army of the West.—*Bill O'Neal, Carthage, Texas.*

Cassidy Saga

Butch Cassidy: A Biography. By Richard Patterson. (Bison Books, University of Nebraska Press, PO Box 880484, Lincoln, Nebraska 68588-0484. Photos, endnotes, bibliography, index. 362 pages. $19.95 Paper.)

The prevailing myth of the American outlaw is that of the charming, amiable rogue whose devil-may-care defiance of conventional society's rules, as he or she adroitly evaded pursuing posses, has developed into a larger-than-life stereotype. This image has been reinforced since the turn of the century by media and fiction that equally as adroitly has distorted the truth and reality of these unique characters so as to produce an almost impenetrable facade of silliness that today hampers any effort to learn and understand the real story.

Of course, most outlaws of the Old West did not even come close to the stereotype. John Wesley Hardin was more often than not fortified by alcohol as he blazed away. Jesse James was, from most accounts, a cold-blooded murderer. Sam Bass was an incompetent robber. Only Butch Cassidy, in the telling and retelling of his saga, seems to have retained an aura of roguish charm, intriguing an army of researchers dedicated to detecting, dissecting, and analyzing the mysteries of his life. This has led to a variety of theories and stories that contradict, confuse, and fascinate these researchers.

Richard Patterson, best known for his *Historical Atlas of the Outlaw West*, has done something that has been long needed in Cassidy lore: compiling all of the current information about Robert Leroy Parker, disputed or otherwise, and putting it in a single volume which will serve as a definitive biography until such time as new information comes along. The most refreshing aspect of the book is that he lays out the existing information, factual or conjectural, identifying the source of the information, and leaving it to the reader to draw his or her own conclusions. Patterson does not promote any fresh theories about the more controversial issues in Cassidy's life, although he constructively discusses the strong and weak points offered by various researchers.

The biggest question about Butch Cassidy, of course, is whether or not he died with Harry Longabaugh, the Sundance Kid, at San Vicente, Bolivia, in November 1909. According to Patterson, while there is strong circumstantial evidence that the two were indeed killed in Bolivia, largely developed through the efforts of researchers Anne Meadows and Dan Buck, there is also the nagging doubt raised by the testimony of a number of persons who claimed to have met and talked with Butch in the United States after 1909. Patterson discounts the stories told by Butch's sister, Lula Betensen, as well as claims by some that William T. Phillips of Seattle, who died in 1937, may have been Butch Cassidy. Thus, Patterson feels that the jury is still out as to when Butch met his demise.

Butch Cassidy is tightly written and well documented. There is necessarily a heavy reliance on secondary sources, but Patterson is careful to maintain a neutral perspective and present the various theories, even the oddball ones with no verifying documentation, with nothing more than a discussion of pros and cons. It is an enjoyable book that does not refute the notion that Butch Cassidy was a likeable guy, even for a dedicated crook.—*Rick Miller, Harker Heights, Texas.*

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Nineteenth Century Comedian

In the nineteenth century perhaps the most popular comedian, at least on the western scene, was Eddie Foy. Tim Dye, Stafford, Kansas, inquires about this early entertainer.

Foy was born in New York on March 9, 1856, as Eddie Fitzgerald. As a child he began singing and dancing and by his mid-teens he had taken the name of Eddie Foy. By 1878 he and James Thompson became partners and began crossing the West, entertaining thousands in boom towns such as Dodge City, Leadville, Butte, Tombstone, and even larger cities such as San Francisco. While in Dodge he became friends with Bat Masterson, and most books dealing with Dodge City in the frontier period make some mention of Foy.

Foy co-wrote his autobiography with Alvin F. Harlow, entitled *Clowning Through Life,* published in 1928 by E.P. Dutton & Company. According to Ramon F. Adams, the book is considered "scarce." It focuses mainly on the comedian's experiences in Dodge City and Tombstone. Foy died February 16, 1928, in Kansas City, Missouri.

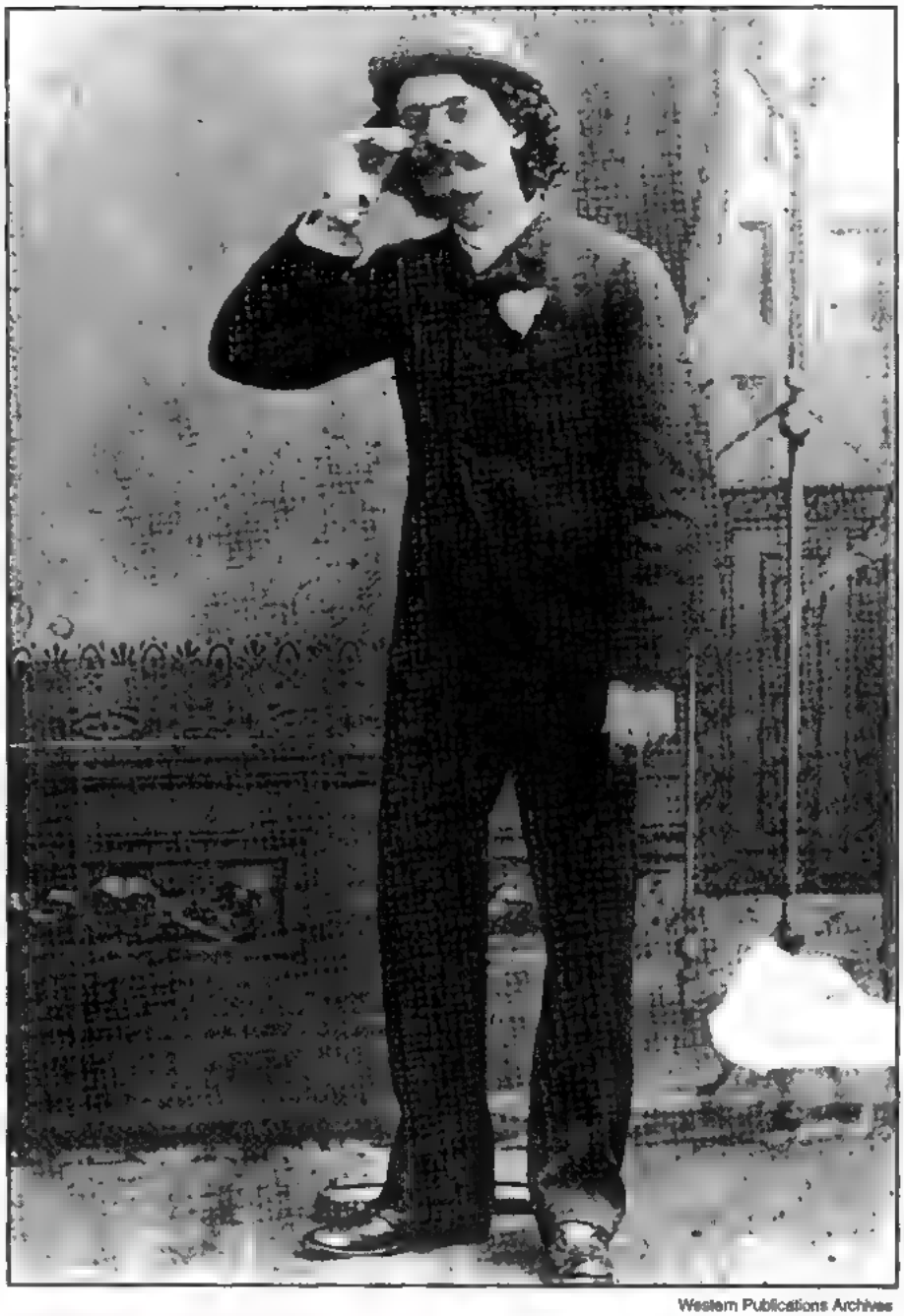
Unusual Weapons

Long time reader Vaughn M. Greene, San Bruno, California, has sent a photograph of William H. Weed, the brother of his great grandfather. In this Civil War era tintype Weed is holding two weapons and a pistol stuck in his belt. Mr. Greene asks for identification of the weapons.

I am not an expert either on weapons or early photography but the image is clearly a tintype as it shows the buttons on the "wrong" side of the uniform and the hammer on the left side of the pistol. Holding the image up to a mirror will show how W.H. Weed actually looked to the eye of the photographer.

The pistol is actually mounted on a detachable shoulder stock, so if detached it could be used in close quarters, or with shoulder stock attached could be as a long range weapon. I believe it is a .58 caliber, single-shot Maynard. It appears to have a twelve-inch barrel. This weapon never gained real popularity.

On the belt pistol I can only see



Western Publications Archives

Eddie Foy, frontier comedian.

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part of the grip and mechanism so I could be wrong, but I am guessing it is a Rogers & Spencer revolver. The sword appears to be a cutlass of some sort, short and with a heavy blade. Great for close fighting when the bullets gave out.

Mr. Greene also sent along an article he had written dealing with Billy the Kid's escape and death, and wonders about the possible connection between a man named Emanuel Brazil, a friend of Pat Garrett and Barney Mason, and Jesse Wayne Brazel, who confessed to killing Garrett. Although sharing essentially the same name, there is no further connection between Brazil and Brazel.

Relatives of Davis Tutt?

"I am interested in finding relatives of Davis K. Tutt, the man who was killed in a gunfight by Wild Bill Hickok in Springfield, Missouri, in July, 1865." This request for help in locating descendants or relatives is from Donald McGraw, PO Box 265, Glendale, South Carolina 29346.

To the best of my knowledge, Davis K. Tutt never married, so there would be no direct descendants, although he did have brothers and sisters. There is not a great deal of information known about Tutt. He was born in 1839, probably in Marion County, Arkansas. By 1860 his father had died and—according to the census—his mother, Nancy A. Tutt, age forty, was acting head of household. There were four children at home at the time: D.K. (Davis), age twenty-one; sister Dulcenia, fifteen; sister Ester T., thirteen; and brother Calvin, eleven. Although no occupation is shown for Mrs. Tutt, the fact that she was the head of household and showing a personal estate of $1,600 and real estate valued at $1,075, suggests her "wealth" was in the land and son Davis (listed as a "farmer") worked it.

In the same census Davis is shown to have $715 in real estate and $800 personal estate. The two younger sisters each showed real estate valued at $160. Apparently the father had planned on the division of his land prior to his passing.

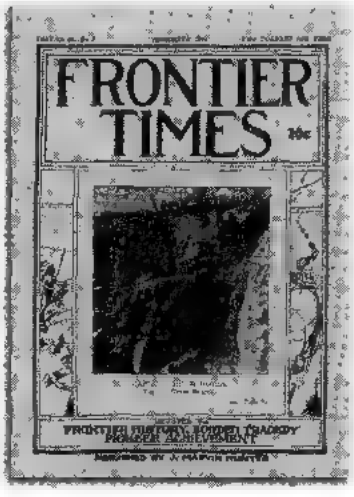
By 1870, when the next census was made, Nancy A. Tutt was living in the same county, probably on the same land. But by now only son Calvin is still at home, having taken his deceased brother's place in farming.

The best published research on Tutt and the events leading to his death at the hands of Wild Bill is provided by Joseph G. Rosa in *They Called Him Wild Bill.*

Pepperboxes and Pocket Rifles

Roy Schneider, San Francisco, California, has pondered over a statement in the highly acclaimed novel of the Civil War, *Andersonville*, by MacKinlay Kantor. Schneidor refers to a "pocket rifle" as well as a "pepperbox revolver" and asks for information, doubting that author Kantor created them from his imag-

YESTERDAY...



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ination.

Yes, unusual as the names may sound, they were popular weapons in the nineteenth century. Ethan Allen of Grafton, Massachusetts, is credited with popularizing the Pocket Rifle, often referred to as a "buggy ride" due to its light weight. Allen had started manufacturing cutlery before becoming interested in firearms, around 1832. Noted, weapons expert Louis A. Garavaglia described the weapon as being distinctive in several respects. It was a saw-handled, underhammer pistol with a square frame and either a round or octagonal barrel made of cast steel. The term "rifle" may be misleading; it actually refers to the rifling of the barrel.

The "Pepperbox" referred to any number of pistols with multiple barrels. They were designed so that when the hammer was cocked the barrel assembly would rotate. Some, no doubt cumbersome, held as many as eighteen barrels.

Here again Ethan Allen made the weapon popular in the United States, developing it by 1837. The pistol commonly had but six "barrels" bored in a caliber of .38, .31, .32 or .36 inch.

Allen's earliest pepperboxes were inscribed "Allen & Thurber, Grafton, Mass." From 1842 to 1847 they were produced in "Norwich, Conn.," replacing Grafton. Later "Worcester, Mass." replaced Norwich. About 1856 Allen took on a new partner and the weapon was inscribed "Allen & Wheelock, Worcester, Mass."

Of course numerous other gunsmiths copied or modified Allen's revolver. Pepperboxes ranged from .26 to .50 caliber barrels and were two to six inches in length. They were clumsy and far from sturdy in construction. By 1860 demand had fallen considerably.

If you have a question, send it to Chuck Parsons, Western Publications, P.O. Box 2107, Stillwater, OK 74076. Please keep questions brief. Sign your full name and address, including zip code. Names will be published if question is used. Space limitations may not permit us to use all questions. Due to the volume of mail, we cannot forward correspondence to people whose questions appear in "Answer Man."

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Sheepmen Ordered South of Ry.

C. P. R. Intervenes in Range Dispute in Favor of Farmers

The C. P. R. has taken a hand in the dispute between the sheepmen and cattlemen as to the range and has ordered the sheep to be kept south of the track. If this order is not complied with by Aug. 12th an injunction will be applied for to keep the sheep off the irrigation belt altogether

The sheep are crossing the line in thousands now and heading in this direction Several bands are north of the tracks now and the farmers were becoming genuinely alarmed over the feed situation.

The cattle owners drove bands of sheep south of the track twice and the last time Burke & Taylor threw one of their herders, laid a charge against four cattlemen, which was dismissed.

R B Sangster, superintendent of the Sutherland farm had an interview with the officials of the department of natural resources of the C. P. R., after which the order to the sheepmen was given.

The action of the C. P. R. will settle a vexatious question and be a relief to the stock owners.

Berry Creek Fair

Competitions for Boys and Girls

Hutton New

Hutton Hustlers T
Bassano Bearcat

Hutton and Bassano ba
played a game here on Fr
and and the result was 6—
or of Hutton Bill Porte
even got mad as he realiz
hit was up against here T
boys can show and had
game any time The ever
spent at a fine dance in the
hall and Lycret's orchestra
ed the music for the occasi
en auto loads of people
from Bassano. Mrs. Rye
Miss Wallace, of Victori
were present She is out
her brother Jack at Burs
has seen better dances bu
invited that you have to g
beat the Hutton fiddler
Lewis, of Pandora. Mr
Harris, Mrs. Helmer, Mrs
H. Forster, Mr. and Mrs
and scores of others were
and all had a jolly good ti

A subscription has been
buy a wrist watch for Pte
Ryan, now in France fo
our liberty The contribu
$1 each, A Hedman, M
A. Bureau. Chas Wilson
Craig V Dixon A. A
W., Price, O Skinner, W
E Klautt, Fred Vinet W
lar, G. McDaniel, Henry
Arthur Ryan, Lloyd Crook
Ryan L. R. Sager 75c Eli
50c Wm Fred Burns Edi
Lily Klautt 25c Jesse
Total, $21 50

The writer wishes to
who suggested to get some
and and I am a Mr. P
[illegible]

Author's Collection

Article from the *Brooks Bulletin*, August 8, 1918, reporting that sheep must be kept south of the Canadian Pacific Railroad track.

By Terry Halden

In his excellent book, *Cattlemen Vs. Sheepherders*, Bill O'Neal details five decades of violence in the American West. However the violence did not stop at the Forty-ninth parallel, and erupted in Alberta, Canada, a mere eighty years ago.

It all started when the Canadian Pacific Railroad over-advertised "free range" in their Eastern Irrigation District north of the main line from Medicine Hat to Calgary in Alberta. This attracted the attention of sheep growers from Montana, and in the early spring of 1918 the first herd of 18,000 sheep were

IN THE MAY ISSUE OF TRUE WEST:

Wyatt Earp & Doc Holliday in Las Vegas, New Mexico. **By Chuck Hornung.** As Dodge City becomes somewhat "tame," the Kansas gambling fraternity moves to New Mexico to mingle with the likes of Billy the Kid.

Those Deadly Dens of Denver. **By R.K. DeArment.** Within the Denver Tenderloin drinking, gambling, and whoring become major industries and booze, bets, and broads flourish for over half a century.

Daggers on the Gallows. **By Douglas V. Meed.** Texas Ranger John "Boss" Hughes drags two kicking, screaming, and knife-wielding murderers to the gallows.

Footnotes: The Death of Helen Beulah. **By Dennis McCown.** The mysterious fate of Helen Beulah Mrose, wife of Martin Mrose and lover of John Wesley Hardin, finally unravels, almost one hundred years later.

George Bent: History's Witness. **By John R. Sweet.** As a participant in several Civil War battles, the sacking of Julesburg, and the battles of Sand Creek and the Platte River Bridge, George Bent observed history like no other.

LOOK FOR THE MAY 1999 TRUE WEST ON NEWSSTANDS APRIL 1, 1999.

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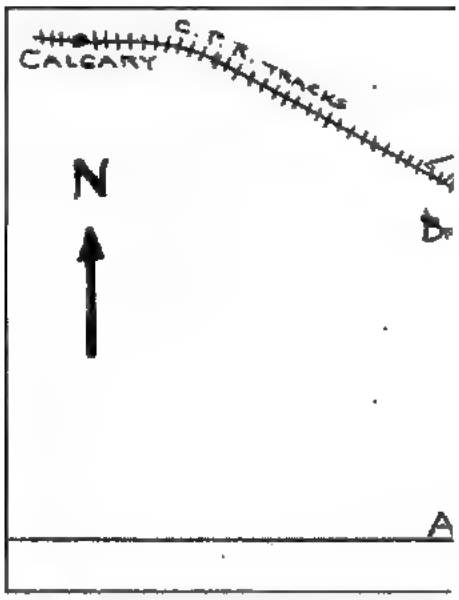
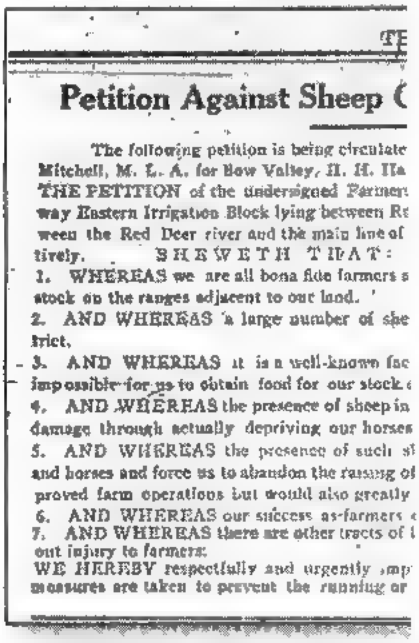


being driven north to graze. More followed. This didn't sit too well with the local ranchers, who felt that their private domain was being invaded. The fact that beef prices were depressed as opposed to the high prices for mutton and wool, only added to their chagrin. A.L. Young, a local rancher is quoted as saying, "At one time there were so many sheep nibbling the grass right down to the roots, that I couldn't see the countryside." The ranchers decided to fight back.

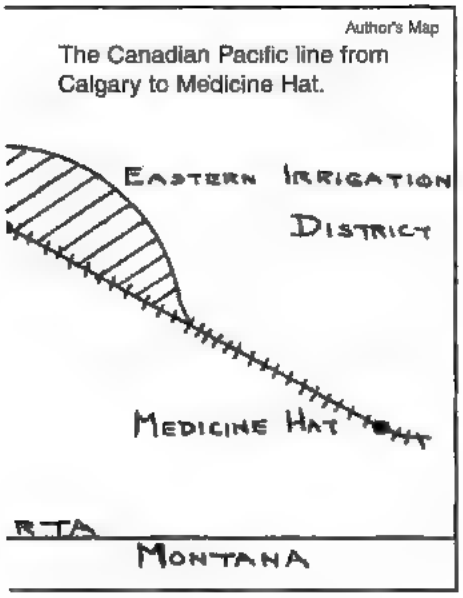
The May 23, 1918, edition of the *Brooks Bulletin*, contained news of a petition that was being circulated amongst the ranchers for presenta-



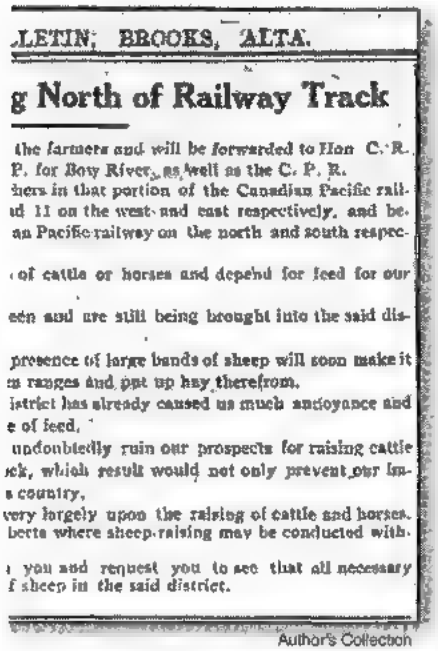
Petition Against Sheep

The following petition is being circulate
Mitchell, M. L. A. for Bow Valley, H. H. Ha
THE PETITION of the undersigned Farmer
way Eastern Irrigation Block lying between Re
ween the Red Deer river and the main line of
tively. SHEWETH THAT:
1. WHEREAS we are all bona fide farmers s
stock on the ranges adjacent to our land.
2. AND WHEREAS a large number of she
trict,
3. AND WHEREAS it is a well-known fac
impossible for us to obtain food for our stock
4. AND WHEREAS the presence of sheep in
damage through actually depriving our horses
5. AND WHEREAS the presence of such sl
and horses and force us to abandon the raising of
proved farm operations but would also greatly
6. AND WHEREAS our success as farmers
7. AND WHEREAS there are other tracts of l
out injury to farmers:
WE HEREBY respectfully and urgently imp
measures are taken to prevent the running or

The petition against sheep grazing as



tion to the Honorable C.R. Mitchell, the local Provincial member of parliament, H.H. Halliday, the Federal member of parliament in Ottawa, and the C.P.R. In amongst the numerous whereases and herebys, the petition alleged that "the sheep would cause the ruin of cattle raising prospects to the detriment of the ranchers and the country," and ended, "we urgently impress upon you and request you to see that all necessary measures are taken to prevent the running or herding of sheep in the district." As today, the wheels of government turned slowly, too slowly for some of the cowboys of the area


LETIN; BROOKS, ALTA.

g North of Railway Track

the farmers and will be forwarded to Hon C. R. P. for Bow River, as well as the C. P. R. hers in that portion of the Canadian Pacific railid 11 on the west and east respectively, and be. an Pacific railway on the north and south respec.

of cattle or horses and depend for feed for our

een and are still being brought into the said dis.

presence of large bands of sheep will soon make it m ranges and put up hay therefrom.
istrict has already caused us much annoyance and e of feed,
undoubtedly ruin our prospects for raising cattle ck, which result would not only prevent our in. s country,
very largely upon the raising of cattle and horses. berta where sheep-raising may be conducted with.

you and request you to see that all necessary f sheep in the said district.

Author's Collection

eared in the *Bulletin*, May 23, 1918.

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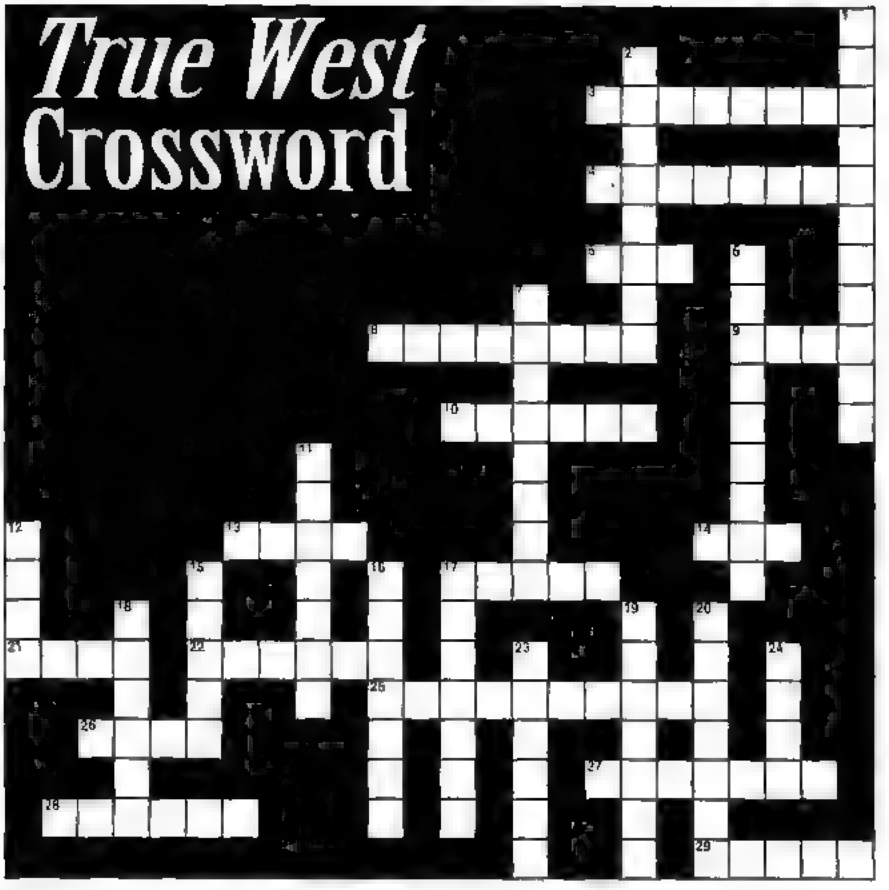
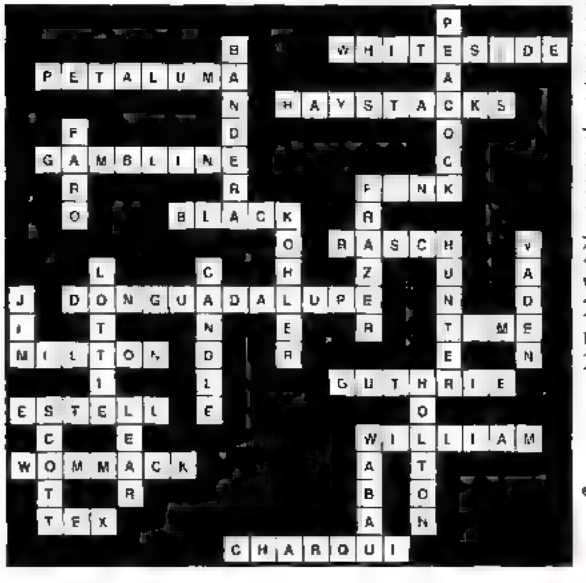


Across

3. First man Bill Longley killed
4. Never _____ old documents
5. NM Governor _____ Wallace
8. Cemetery where Bill Longley is buried
9. Man killed by Wild Bill Hickok in 1865
10. William "_____ Bill" Scott
13. Type of revolver given to Canton from Wolcott
14. A nineteenth century comedian
17. Name of Robert Casey's clerk
21. Name of William Hardin's child
22. Fans called him the "Colored _____ of Denver"
25. Brushy Bill was uneducated and _____
26. Name of Robert Casey's daughter
27. Last original redwood depot in southern Arizona
28. City _____, the Geisenhofer's store
29. Name of Bill Longley's mother

Down

1. Defended the Johnson County Invaders legally
2. Wolcott and Canton were part of the "Johnson County _____"
6. Author of *Butch Cassidy: A Biography*
7. The local Provincial Parliament member during rancher-sheep men war
11. Born at Canandaigua, NY
12. Tombstone mayor in 1882
15. Author of *Stagecoach West*
16. Convicts began wearing _____ clothes in 1865
17. _____ Jefferson Hardin
18. Manager of Wortley Hotel
19. Billy the Kid spoke fluent _____
20. Ex-officio San Quentin wardin in 1861
23. Card with two original photos pasted on it
24. _____ Geisenhofer



Solution to last month's puzzle.

who decided to take matters into their own hands.

A "demarcation" line was drawn, being the C.P.R. tracks. Any sheep herder that crossed the tracks was, in the eyes of the cowboys, fair game and could be turned back, using force if necessary. A herd of sheep owned by Burke and Taylor Sheep Company were the first to cross the tracks, driven by an employee named Snyder. A band of cowboys led by Pete Smith, drove them back and allegedly burned the sheepherder's camp in the process. The sheep men countered by laying charges against Smith and three of his known partners, S. Mackinell, L. Stafford, and W.J. Phillips. According to the *Brooks Bulletin* of July 25, the charges were dismissed by the sitting justices of the peace, Brankley and Skerrit, as; "they held that no violence had been shown the herder, no threatening language used, and it was not proven that the sheep men had any right to the range they were on." One wonders if the justices had any cattle interests.

Other attempts to cross the tracks by sheepherders were equally repulsed, with camps being torn down and sheep scattered in a southerly direction. Sheep men started carrying rifles and after taking a few pot shots at cowboys, indicated they were not afraid to use them to protect their interests. The situation was escalating into an armed combat.

Finally, the C.P.R. intervened, and issued an order that all sheep must be off the Eastern Irrigation District by August 12, 1918. An uneasy truce was in place, as the sheep men obeyed the order and voluntarily moved their herds south of the tracks.

By late fall the price of wool had dropped, and with the sheep men having no alternative but to go to the ranchers for winter feed, a permanent peace reigned. Today, sheep and cattle are often seen grazing side by side throughout the area.

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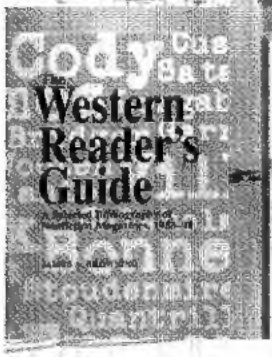

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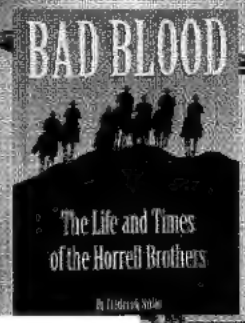

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